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Art. I.—CHINA AND THE INDIES.—OUR “MANIFEST DESTINY” IN THE EAST.

CHINA IN THE PAST AND PRESENT—COMMERCIAL RELATIONS OF THE EAST
WITH EUROPE AND AMERICA—DIRECT AND REDUCED ROUTES OF COMMU-
NICATION WITH THE EAST—HOW THE FUTURE OPENS, ETC., ETC.

SOME one likens wars and the revolutions of nations to dis-
tempers of the human body. Without striving to discover a
closer affinity in the resemblance than the uncertainty of their
recurrence and terminations, the comparison seems just, so far
as the application is made in a majority of instances. There is
much moral instruction to be gathered from the quaint combi-
nation of metaphysical apothegms in which the old author indul-
ges, and the wholesome truths with which his allegory abounds.
The wars and revolutions of nations do indeed partake, in their
external aspects, of the nature of epidemic and endemic dis-
eases, to which the human frame is liable. And in their decline
and fall, in the manner in which the fatality fastens upon the
body politic, and wastes the energies of their physical exist-
ence, the fate of empires, whether determined by a slow pro-
cess, or a sudden and terrible visitation, is forcibly illustrated
by the homely simile, in which there is more philosophy of sen-
timent than philological beauty. It might also be said, in car-
rying out the comparison, that these diseases have a similar
origin, proceeding from derangements of the local system, from
abuses of the health-promoting functions, or that they are bred
in the social and political atmosphere, and increase in virulence
according as sanitary measures are neglected to remove them.
The treatment of cases is another and important consideration,
but it does not come within the scope of our present remarks.

China, though it has suffered from scourges, sudden, fierce,
and exterminating, has rather been characterized by an exemp-

tion from the manifold ills to which less pretensions and more obscure states have been subjected. Its chronic complaint has been a kind of dropsy; a surfeit of population and conceit; of conservatism and vanity; of prejudice and superstition; and, as a consequence of protracted neglect, the disease is now almost incurable. It has not wasted the empire, but it has incapacitated it; and what is more deplorable, there has been no means of drawing off this superfluity of fulsomeness—no remedy devised for the relief of the system, notwithstanding the attempts that have been repeatedly made. The empire is still held together by its girth, or huge wall; and no European nation has ever sundered it with its sword, nor essayed to drain it of the dogmatical humors which tend neither to its own advantage, nor the benefit of the world.

But, as in all similar examples, a visible internal change has taken place. Its political organism, or one portion of it, has endeavored to throw off the superincumbent weight which it has long sustained. The healthy parts, or such as we are led to believe are healthy, refuse their functions to promote a condition to which reason, and the instincts of self-preservation, are alike averse. In other words, China is in a state of domestic strife. Revolution has superseded the reign of sloth; and progress has wrested from the grasp of tyranny the sceptre of conservatism, and sacrificed it to open rebellion.

The United States cannot be indifferent to this conflict, which exhibits all the features of a well-prepared drama. China, from its geographical situation and physical products, is more important to us than to Europe; and more important to Europe than all Southern Asia besides. What the result of the contest now raging will be, no one can even conjecture; for all surmises must rest on the accounts which are permitted to reach us, and, besides being conflicting, these are far from reliable. The issue will be, to seat the Mantchoo-Tartar dynasty more firmly than ever on the throne, and therefore perpetuate the policy of that race of kings who have held out against all foreign intercourse; or it will restore the native dynasty, the fosterers of religion, and the arts and sciences, and open the ports of the empire to the commerce of the world.

The history of China is involved in great obscurity. According to native authority, the empire was founded as early as 2,700 B. C., their first calendar cycle being made to correspond with that period. By other authorities it is maintained that the founder was Johi, the Noah of Sacred Writ, whose dynasty must have commenced about B. C. 2,240. The Chinese refer to the reign of Yao, which was antecedent to this epoch, (B. C. 2,357.) But without endeavoring to reconcile the discrepancies of date, or to correct the errors of annalists, whose data con-

flict, it is evident that the nation is of great antiquity; that with the Chinese the arts and sciences flourished long before the existence of the nation became known to the adventurers of the Mediterranean. Their first appearance in history was during the wars of the Scythians, towards the close of the seventh century, B. C. In the sanguinary battle fought by Phraates with the former, the Chinese took part against him, (B. C. 129,) from which time they began to intermeddle in the affairs of Eastern Asia, and to enlarge the boundaries of their empire. But prior to this event, and while pagan darkness yet covered the earth for the most part, the Chinese were quietly cultivating the arts of peace, and had already discovered that auxiliary to commerce, the mariner's compass. Tyre, the capital of Phœnicia, had just been built. Troy, assaulted by the Greeks, was struggling to retain her sceptre. The Jews, who had only begun to appreciate their liberties, and to retaliate upon the Ammonites for their servitude, had not yet crowned David their king, nor ratified a commercial league with Hiram of Tyre. The age was that of civil strife, social discord, national apathy, or universal barrenness of refinement and industry. It was the age of heroes and of warriors—of such heathen demi-gods as Agamemnon, Achilles, Ulysses, Menelaus, and Ajax. Nations had not yet thought of colonizing, save by the sword, much less extending their power and dominion by intercourse and commercial interchanges. Hence China, which geographers located on that portion of terra firma that "dipped into the sea," fabulous as might have been the stories told of its wealth and treasures, would have offered few inducements for plunder at so remote a distance from the great actors of the age, while opportunities were afforded for rapine and aggression nearer home. Consequently the nation remained unmolested, pursuing a peaceful career, and acquiring that physical strength, and cultivating those mental accomplishments, for which, in distinctive ages, it has been alike formidable and respected.

Four hundred years later (B. C. 500), Confucius introduced a new religion, and the habits, the manners, and the customs of the people underwent a change. They now became more energetic and ambitious; but they had also been taught discretion. They had not beheld, because they were neither spectators nor participants of, the dramas which had been enacted on the shores of the Mediterranean, and on the plains of Assyria and Asia Minor. But intelligence of the rise and fall of the mighty cities which had ruled the world, had been conveyed to them. They had neither witnessed the blazing of Sardis, nor had heard the wail of the Argives over the graves of their slaughtered. It was enough that the scourge of war and massacre had been thus far spared them; and they prepared

to avail themselves of a protection which they deemed might soon be needed. Rome, in turn, threatened deeds of aggression, to which those of Darius, of Xerxes, of Hamilcar, and of Alexander, were as the triumphs of pigmies. Besides, not unknown to the Chinese, the northern tribes of Asia, fierce and terrible in their lusts, began to exhibit a turbulent and dangerous spirit. And therefore, we say, the Chinese, weighing these considerations dispassionately, availed themselves of such physical protection as none but enlightened genius could have conceived, and a people well-disciplined in the arts and the elements of civil government have executed: they projected and built their great wall—a work, both in artistic design and finish, and in magnitude, evincing a taste and architectural skill far superior to, as in itself it is, more stupendous than anything which surrounds the wonder of Luxor, or distinguishes the pyramids of the Nile. But although the Chinese had thus endeavored to guard against the evils which they had reason to dread, by erecting a wall of masonry about them, they were not entirely successful in resisting encroachment. The Huns, their former allies, were the first to annoy them; and, as if to invite foreign invasion, dissensions arose at home. This was during the dynasty of Tsin, (B. C. 214.) Han succeeded to the empire, (B. C. 207,) and confidence in his rule begat general prosperity; and the welfare of the empire remained undisturbed for another century. Lieupang was now on the throne; and while he paid tribute to the Huns, to avoid provoking their hostility, he extended his dominions to Pegu, Siam, Kamtschatka, and Bengal. Himself and his immediate successors might, with the countenance of the Huns, have pushed their conquests to the borders of the Red Sea, and to the shores of the Euxine. The Medo-Persian and the Macedonian empires had passed away. Asia had been ravaged and despoiled from the Caucasus to the Indian Ocean—from the Indus to the Bosphorus. Except the arm of Rome, China would have encountered no serious obstacle to her progress; and even Rome might have been content with a demarcation line dividing Asia Minor from the East, and leaving her in the possession of the crumbling kingdoms west of that.

With the close of the third Punic war, and the commencement of the migration of the German nations, we lose ourselves, as respects China, in historical doubt. We know that in A. D. 57, in the reign of Tong Han, additional conquests were made, and some territories, including portions of Thibet, were obtained. We are aware, also, that the scattered Jews, pursued by necessity, or led by adventure, sought an asylum among the Celestials, and colonized in their midst. But the next remarkable event in the Chinese annals, and which followed close upon their

opening commercial relations with Europe, if indeed it did not precede, was the treaty or alliance which Antoninus of Rome proposed to them, and touching the true object of which historians disagree. It is evident that by this time the Chinese had progressed far in civilization, in industry, and in social accomplishments. They had, as we have remarked, opened a profitable trade with Europe, which was conducted by land; and on sea, their junks covered the waters of the adjacent and contiguous isles. They had acquired a wide-spread reputation for knowledge, and their manufactures and products found a ready market and eager purchasers everywhere.

But a change awaited China. We shall not attempt to follow its history down to the period when the Leao Tartars took possession of its northern provinces—a lapse of a thousand years, (A. D. 906.) It is even needless to take from this point a retrospective view of the prominent alterations in the map of the political world since the fall of the Western Empire of the Romans. We shall descend to a later epoch, remarkable for the universal influence it had on the subsequent affairs and destinies of nations. On the banks of the Selinga was born that renowned scourge Temugin, better known as Genghis Khan, before whose terrible arms kingdoms tottered and fell, as fragile mounds swept away by the blast of the sirocco. Issuing from the snowy ridges inhabited by the Mongols, whose leader he became, he bore down upon the Chinese Empire without impediment or stay, and left his footprints marked with blood and desolation wherever he went. His career was one continued victory. Invading China, he seized upon seven of the richest provinces of the north, which he added to the newly founded empire of the Tartars. He next overran all Thibet, Corea, and defeated the Sultan of Kharism with 400,000 men. Turning his victorious army towards the Black Sea, he next defeated the Czar of Russia; and now announced his intention of conquering all Asia and Europe. Nation after nation, and tribe after tribe, submitted to him. Jelal-ad-Din, last monarch of Kharism, was driven in exile into India. Persia, whose power had stricken terror into the Grecian and Assyrian heart, yielded, and became to him a suzerainty. Asia, in a word, from the China Sea to the Euxine, including the Celestial Empire, was made tributary to his realm, and suffered from his domination. His death, though it freed the world of a plague, wrought little change for the better in the condition of any of the conquered powers. Such was the prestige of his name, that, despite the want of military skill in his immediate successors, Baatu and Hu-laku, it operated as a terror to enervate and appal the nations against whom the Mongol forces were now directed. The generals, Baatu and Hu-laku, penetrated

into Europe, rent the empire of Russia, attacked Poland, destroyed the cities of Lublin and Cracow, besieged and took Bagdad, the capital of the Saracens, and made a banquet of the slaughter of two hundred thousand of its inhabitants. It would have been in vain for China to have attempted resistance to such a colossal power, the more especially as, without allies, it would have been compelled to withstand the brunt solely and alone. Kubla Khan, equally famous in the annals of the East with Genghis Khan, on inheriting the mighty empire founded by the latter, and extended by his predecessors, transferred his sceptre and court to Pekin, which thenceforth became the royal residence of the Mongol Tartarian kings.

We have remarked, that the northern provinces only had been subdued. Kubla completed the work by reducing the southern provinces to submission. He was less a warlike than a politic prince. He adopted the language, the manners, and the customs of the Chinese, and discarded those of his own country. He therefore ingratiated himself in the goodwill, if not the affections of his conquered subjects.

A century intervened. As the power of the Græco-Latin empire began to culminate, that of the Mongol Tartars began rapidly to decline. At this period Tamerlane appeared. Though of Turkish origin, his ancestry were of the house of Genghis Khan; and the youthful prince early gave evidence that he inherited many of the military qualifications of his great progenitor. He beheld his native country dismembered and parcelled out to independent governors; China, though never wrested from the Mongol rule, enjoying a distinct sovereignty; and, in every material sense, alienated from all joint interest, consanguinity, and political association in and from each other. Tamerlane buckled on his rude armor, and marshalled an exterminating army in the mountains of Tartary. His triumphs and achievements are matter of history. We allude to them, because they help to answer the question why, apparently, the Chinese have remained inactive for a period of 2,000 years. Tamerlane first freed his country from the Calmucs; and then, inflamed with ferocity and a thirst for blood, he turned his arms against Turkistan, invades Persia, retakes Bagdad, invades Eastern Tartary, (which had previously revolted, and became independent with China,) with an army whose front covered thirteen miles; attacks Hisdostan, and in his march murders 10,000 prisoners, for the sole reason that they were cumbersome to his movements, and incommoded his progress. Quitting the banks of the Ganges, he marched against Bajazet, whom he defeated and subsequently captured, invaded Syria, and even threatened Egypt. Forming an alliance with the Greeks, the expedition of Natolia was undertaken. Ere long

he had made tributary the emirs of Turkey, in Asia Minor; the Ottoman and Egyptian sultans, and the Greek emperor of Constantinople. His last act was to project an expedition against China, and to bring the degenerate emperor thereof back to his ancient allegiance and filial fealty. His death cut short his sanguine dreams; and thus passed away Tamerlane, the greatest of the Tartar generals—like a bright yet malignant star torn from the firmament—with the glory of thirteen diadems encircling his brows. Thenceforth decay seized upon the western Tartar dominions. They fell, and on a portion of the ruins arose the power of the Mongols, a second branch of the Mongol race, descendants of Genghis Khan. Baber was the first emperor, who had been governor of Ferghana, a province of the possessions of Tamerlane. Driven by the Usbecs from his capital, he penetrated into Cabul, which he took, and thus advanced to the Indus. After capturing Lahore, he formed a league with Dowlut, Khan of Lodi; and together they successfully operated against the Affghan kingdom, which became subservient to Baber. Twenty-five years later, under Akbar the Munificent, the new empire had attained a glory and eminence never since equalled in the annals of the Mogul history, save during the period between 1690 and 1710, when the annual revenues of the empire amounted to one hundred and seventy millions of dollars, and when Aurung Zebe the Unfilial, sat in state, robed in pearls and jewels.

Meanwhile the Ottoman empire had been incorporated with the Turkish power, and extended almost to the gates of Vienna, in Europe. Russia had also become a first rate-power, and exhibited symptoms of an ambitious and acquisitive spirit. Abbas the Great was on the throne of Persia, and had again raised the importance of that kingdom to a high pitch. China was surrounded now by the ocean barrier, the Moguls in India and Western Tartary, by Russia on the north, and the Mongols in Eastern Tartary, not subject to the imperial crown. Flanking these barbaric powers were Persia, at the height of its renown; the empire of the Turks extending up the Danube into Europe; and by the English, now beginning to encroach upon Southern Asia from the Indian Ocean. The epoch to which we have thus brought this historial review, is 1650. Chim-Chi, the Mongol or Eastern Tartar emperor of China, had just died, leaving the crown to Kam-hi, his son, between the period of whose accession and the close of the seventeenth century no events occurred of a nature to claim our special attention in this connection.

It will be seen that the posture of China was one of no enviable character. Peaceful in their habits, enlightened in their views, well-organized, and appreciative of good government;

industrious, persevering, and frugal, the people had prospered until they were subjugated by the Eastern Tartars, and even long after their dominions had passed from them. They had, as we have seen, taken a part in the early history of the Scythians; had, with the aid of the Huns, or by their passive co-operation, extended their rule to the shores of the Caspian; but as generation succeeded generation, and the native element became lost in the predominating element of the Mongol dynasty, in the imperial family, the nation began to exhibit effeminacy, degeneracy, and finally an apathy, coupled with prejudice, vanity, and superstition, which is characteristic of it at this day. No one familiar with Oriental history can doubt, that if the native population had retained their sway, and the kings of China had still sprung from the loins of Fohi, the empire, despite the power of the barbaric tribes with which they were environed for two thousand years, would have attained greater eminence, have exhibited a more liberal character, and in physical strength have more than counterbalanced the powers of Central Asia, Russia on the north, and the English in India. China may well be excused for the slow progress it has made in some respects, but not as regards a policy of utter seclusion, imported into the empire for a protracted contingency, but no longer needful, or even expedient, in the enlarged and familiar relations of the world.

To understand the nature of the domestic conflict agitating the empire, it is only necessary to refer to the nature of the Chinese institutions, and the character of their social and political fabric. An examination of these will suffice also to convince us that, if properly administered, the laws of the empire could not be framed in a better spirit to meet the wants and further the general happiness of the people. The complaint of the revolutionists is, not that the laws are unwise, that offices are disproportioned, that the system of government is onerous or pernicious, but that the laws and the principles of their government have been abused and perverted. The supreme authority is vested in one executive head, the crown being hereditary in the male line. This power, however, is limited by certain rights which appertain to the magistracy, and is reposed, first, in the mandarins, and by a system of gradation in inferior officers. All appointments are conferred by hereditary rule on the learned. Of this estate there are three ranks, which depend for their existence on the capacity of candidates to answer correctly certain questions which are propounded prior to their installation. The Chinese have no hereditary dignities, except in princes of the blood, descendants of Confucius, and in one or two other families; but the descendants of an ancestor of distinguished merit are often rewarded with honors which are continued

through successive generations. The laws are couched in the simplest language, and promulgated with the utmost possible publicity, that none may be ignorant of them. Punishment is inflicted by the bastinado, the pillory, banishment, hard labor, and death. The population is divided into seven principal classes: 1. Mandarins; 2. Military; 3. Learned; 4. Priests; 5. Husbandmen; 6. Artisans; 7. Merchants. Each of these classes has its grades and ranks, which take precedence in their order. "When China," says Balbi, "was first explored by European travellers, it was believed to be a nation that had alone found out the true secret of government, where the virtues were developed by the operation of the laws." If such impressions were made upon persons fresh from the courts of enlightened monarchs, and bred in the atmosphere of polished society, familiar with the laws and institutions of European civilization, and conversant with the distinctive features of social life everywhere, we must believe, trusting to his testimony and our own natural deductions, based on the evidence of our reasoning senses, that, if properly administered, the laws of China could not be amended for the better, nor a more liberal system of government be erected. "We war," exclaims the leaders of the rebellion, "against abuses. We seek not to overthrow established forms, inherited from Fohi, but to extirpate evils with which foreign dynasties have environed them. We wish, in a word, to restore our own reigning house, and to expel the barbaric Mongols from our celestial realm." This comprehends the whole case: it tells the whole story.

And now, having briefly treated of its history, and examined its institutions, let us take a view of China from a commercial point.

It has been said that the Chinese have not sufficiently progressed to estimate at its true value the advantages of commercial reciprocity. This error, not an uncommon one, is easily put to rest. Their mechanical and artistic skill is universally applauded. It is true, they are indolent; but indolence neither indicates ignorance, nor a want of genius. On the contrary, the Chinese are proverbial for their occult and chemical sciences, and their peculiar aptness in handicraft, and knowledge of the metallurgic arts. Their literature is the richest in Asia. Their classical works are numerous, and their written annals and legendary stories are the most complete, consecutive, and well-digested, of any language extant. Poetry, the drama, and romantic prose fictions, are among the productions of the literati; and the ease, fluency, and ornate taste exhibited in these emanations of mind, are deserving of the highest critical praise. Those elements of science and art in which the Chinese are alone deficient, consist of mathematics and painting, and a com-

parative want of acquaintance with the true principles of astronomy. Their great wall, as a work of architectural design, is a stupendous monument. Let us also keep in view the great garden of Peking, the pleasure-ground of the Mongol monarchs, which is filled with artificial lakes, rivers, pavilions, and palaces, resembling the fabled Elysium, and bringing to the recollection reminiscences of the arcade-gardens of Babylon, in which the Assyrian kings, in their pride and glory, were wont to repose from the noontide suns. Taste is not wanting in this magnificent work of artificial nature. In this, in the design of their temples, in their internal improvements—their towns, their roads, their bridges, their canals, and their aqueducts—in their schools of philosophy and mechanics, do we trace the features of an effeminate and barbaric race, buried in pride and sloth, timorous to a fault, and criminally neglectful of the arts of peace? Let us be assured that such estimates of Chinese character are entirely incorrect.

We now approach the main object of our remarks.* We are

* The subjoined chronological table will be found useful for matter of reference:—

B. C., 2700 1st Chinese cycle.

2207 1st of the 22 Chinese dynasties, (ended 1644, A. D.)

551 Confucius born.

211 Chinese wall completed.

202 Literature and the art of painting encouraged.

15 Religion of Tao-tao commenced.

A. D., 60 Religion of the followers of Fo commenced.

166 Embassy from Rome.

420 Nanking becomes the capital.

635 Nestorian Christians allowed to preach their doctrines.

845 Proscribed and extirpated.

1260 Peking becomes the capital.

1400 Great canal Yn Ho completed.

1517 Europeans first arrive at Canton.

1586 Macao granted to the Portuguese for a colony.

1575 Jesuits sent by the Roman Pontiff, as missionaries.

1644 Conquered by the Tartars.

TARTAR DYNASTIES.

1692 Efforts of the Jesuits to establish Christianity.

1724 Are expelled the country.

1792 First diplomatic intercourse with England, and Earl Macartney's Mission.

1812 Edict against Christianity.

1834 Rights claimed by the East India Company revoked.

1834 Opium trade interdicted by the Chinese.

1839 Trade with England suspended.

1840 Edict against trade with England forever.

1842 Peace with England, and treaty of peace, in which the ports of Canton, Amoy, Foo-choo-foo, Ningpo and Shanghai, are thrown open to British commerce.

TARTAR EMPERORS.

1627 Chang-lei, or (Chwang-lei); 1644, Shun-che; 1669, Kang-he; 1693, Yung-ching; 1736, Keen-lung; 1796, Kea-ding; 1821, Taou-Kwang; 1850, Sze-Hing.

closing with Chinese history down to the opening of the seventeenth century. Avenues of trade, under the native princes, had been opened by land and sea—the latter being limited, but the former were of considerable importance and extent. The commerce with Siberia was conducted through Maimachin, opposite Keatchu; with Turkistan through Yarkand; with Hindostan through Lassa; and with Burmah and Annam through a number of frontier towns. Tea, nankeen, rhubarb, ginger, porcelain, &c., were exchanged for opium from India, furs from Siberia, and for sandal-wood, birds' nests (*biche de mer*), or tri-pang, ivory, ginseng, and tobacco, from other parts of the world, by overland carriage, through Persia, Arabia, Turkey, Assyria, and by way of the Black Sea. Almost simultaneously the English and the Russians began to regard this traffic with jealousy and an eye to self-interest. Ismaloff, emperor of Russia, undertook to wheedle the Chinese into an exclusive alliance with himself, by which he hoped not only to outwit the English, and monopolize the commercial advantages which were at the command of the former, but to strengthen his political relations in Central Asia, and, perhaps, dispossess the British in India altogether. We have stated that Keatchu had already become a trading post of the Russians with the Chinese, through the Chinese town Maimachin. The Russian government, viewing the importance of this place for a future great central entrepôt, bent every energy to secure the good-will of the Mongolians, and keep open the trade route through Maimachin. Of such consequence, indeed, was this consideration to the Russian court, that, in a treaty concluded with the Chinese government, the czar volunteered to abandon all pretensions to an entry into the celestial ports, and even to rank as a feudatory prince of that empire! England sent out an embassy to counteract the influences of these movements; but Earl Macartney, who was the plenipotentiary chosen, failed in his mission, and was peremptorily ordered to leave the empire. His lordship did not understand eastern diplomacy, and was incapable of combating Russian intrigue. A second embassy was sent out twenty-three years later, but met with no better success. It also failed, because Lord Amherst, the ambassador, refused to make the kou-ton, lest thereby he would compromise the majesty of England. It is no marvel that, in endeavoring to vault over Chinese prejudices by the prestige of a name, the English plenipotentiaries should have met with a rebuff, while meanwhile the Russian emperor was quietly gaining his point, by sacrificing his dignity, and degrading himself so low as to be recorded, in the Chinese list of tributary princes, among those of the second degree.

It is not necessary that we should pursue the history of these

nations in their rival projects, or their efforts to implant themselves in China; for the annals of the British in India supply all the requisite information. Suffice it that England only partially accomplished her object by the point of the sword, and made an enemy, much to the delight of Russia, who had not contemplated such a result to the British, whose deeply-rooted hostility and thirst for revenge will never be eradicated from the Chinese breast. Russia, on the other hand, fully succeeded by a policy of peace, and has established itself not only commercially in the Chinese empire, but has won over to its interest a majority of the tribes of Thibet, of Turkistan, Mongolia, and even the northern provinces of China Proper, a promiscuous population, which could, at any moment, be rendered dangerous to the integrity of the celestial realm.

We come now to speak of matters as they are. Russia is even more formidable in the East than the English; while in Central Asia its power is paramount. We are not apt so to regard these facts; but that is owing to our want of information and neglect in examining the subject. Peter the Great is reported to have said, that he never took a step towards the Atlantic but he turned to survey what he was abandoning towards the Frozen Ocean and the Pacific. His grand scheme was to unite the Mediterranean with the rivers flowing into the Pacific, and to have this union effected through his dominions. His successors seem to have been inspired with the same desire. We have seen the Russias expand, and without hardly a blow being struck. England has acquired an immense Indian coast, stretching from the frontiers of Burmah on the west to Aden and the Red Sea; but it has not brought India a mile nearer to the British isles: on the contrary, every advance made into the interior of Asia, by the Arabian Sea or Bay of Bengal, only lengthens the commercial route to Liverpool and to London. Schemes of overland intercourse entertained by her may be accomplished; but it will be through sufferance—by Turkish and Persian cessions—grants by powers that are already tottering, and gravitating toward the Urals and the Volga. And, though she may establish herself in Herat, in Cabul, in Beloochistan, in Sindhy, and in the country of the Siks—spread her sceptre over all Hindostan, and Burmah, Nepaul, and Annam, she meets at all points internally the Russian cordon, which cuts her off from the river arteries which pour into the Caspian and Black seas on the west, and the mighty floods that roll towards the Pacific on the east. Every navigable water-course which England commands in India, empties into the Indian Ocean, carrying from her the products of the river basins, instead of bringing them to her. Not so with regard to Russia. That power, with her right to navigate the great Amour, and her prospective right of navi-

gating the large water-courses of Mantchooria and Dauria, which lie between 40° and 50° of north parallel of latitude, will be enabled to control all the internal commerce that must pass to the Pacific, through the ports of the Sea of Japan, and the Chicah and Okholsk gulfs, having a consecutive coast, looking out upon California, of over a thousand miles. Russia is thus brought in direct communication with the states of North and South America; and, should a canal or railroad ever span this continent, bring her into almost direct contact with Europe. In either case, she will still be nearer to the markets of Europe and America, whether or not a canal or railroad is constructed on this continent; for England must navigate great distances towards the antarctic zones, before the prows of her vessels are turned towards the arctic pole. On the west, the progress of Russia has been even more rapid, and the advantages obtained far more important. Here, again, we find that power in control of the waters which flow into the Atlantic, and which bring Central Asia into direct communication with Northern Europe. When the conquest of Circassia is completed, with Georgia, Russia will have dominion over the territories and rivers which connect with the Black Sea and the Caspian, and extend in an unbroken chain through Central Asia to the very sources of the Indus and Ganges. And then, as if to complete her acquisitions, she may point to the Danube, which is virtually hers already, and say, in the language of Catherine II., "five kingdoms breathe through that ventricle."

Kiatchu, the Russo-Chinese mart, is located on a river of the same name, which communicates with a tributary of the great Yenesei. It is 55 miles south-east of Selengensk, 180 miles south-east from Irkoutsk, 4,174 miles from St. Petersburg, and 1,030 miles from Pekin. The Imperial Russian-American Company carry to the fair held here, which takes place between the months of January and March, the furs, peltries, sea-horse teeth, etc., collected at their trading establishments on the north-west coast of America, Kamtschatka, and the Aleutian and Kurile islands. The Russian Siberian traders bring furs, dressed sheep and lambskins, woollen manufactures of various kinds required for the cold climate of northern China, Mongolia, and Mantchooria; also, coarse linens, leather, specie, horned cattle, camels, horses, hounds, dogs for hunting the wild boar, provisions, etc., all of which they exchange for raw and manufactured silk, porcelain, rhubarb, sugar-candy, musk, and teas of China. Some idea may be obtained of the extent of the trade conducted at this station, when we inform the reader, that the sales at a single fair, (once a year,) amount in value to 100,000,000 roubles, equal to \$20,000,000. The other Siberian trading stations are Zurukaita, Semapalatinsk, Busk, and Omsk,

which, together, average an annual sale of \$14,000,000—making the barter of Russia through Siberia \$34,000,000 a year. But these are barter stations only, for the exchange of Russian and Chinese commodities. It is to the annual fairs of Irbit and Nishney-Novgorod that we are to look for the legitimate details of the Russo-internal traffic. Through these instrumentalities, Russia maintains her political preponderance in Central Asia, and exercises an influence which is almost supreme over the nomadic tribes and ungoverned natives which hover on the borders of China Proper and the British possessions in India. The fair of Irbit is held in January, and is frequented principally by Russians, Siberians, Bokharians, Armenians, and Greeks. The town is the entrepôt for the Siberian furs and Asiatic merchandise passing into Europe. The fair of Nishney-Novgorod, which is the most celebrated in the world, commences in July, and ends in August. Three hundred thousand people have been known to attend these mercantile convocations at one time. Here may be met the Chinese, the Calmuc, the Bashkir, the Mongol, the Mantchoo, the Bokhar, the Indian, the Kirghise, the Persian, the Georgian, the Circassian, the Armenian, the Parsee, the Arab, the Greek, the Jew, the Sclavonian, the German, the Italian, the Englishman, the Dutchman, the Belgian, the Dane, the Swede, the American, the Yankee, and the Australian—inhabitants of every section of the globe, speaking every known language and tongue. As Russia is the fosterer of this great mart, and is regarded as the protector of it by the foreign merchants and traders, it is reasonable to suppose that that vast power loses no opportunity to convert its machinery into a gigantic political vehicle, for the furtherance of its interests in every inhabitable region of Asia. And Russia never neglects to follow up a triumph of peaceful policy by a practical development of her genius and purpose. By the system of railroads now in course of construction in the empire, lines have been extended from St. Petersburg to Moscow; and miles have been surveyed, which will connect the capital with Nishney-Novgorod and Casan—the former being advantageously situated for commerce and military movements on the Volga; and the other, on the Casanca, of no less importance as an advance military and trading post. From these points, Russia overlooks all the countries of the Caspian and Independent Tartary, as Siberia overlooks China, while, in a commercial sense, she holds dominion of the arteries of communication between the Black Sea and the Pacific, and those ramifying northward to the Gulf of Finland and the Baltic. The Volga is as essential to Russia on the north-east, as the Danube is to her on the south-west. It is 2,500 miles in length, and connects with the Neva, which unites the Caspian and the

Black Sea, and, by means of the canal of Vishnei-Vololshok, commands the trading land routes throughout the countries we have named, in Central Asia. Few persons are aware of the extent of the internal commerce which Russia has thus at her disposal, or of the political advantages in Asia which she possesses. Nor are they readily estimated by such merely cursory glances at their magnitude as we have been constrained, for want of space, to give them.

It remains to speak of the character of the exchanges which are most required in the Central and Eastern Asiatic markets. The commodities which descend from the northern to be consumed in the southern hemisphere, are, according to natural laws governing trade, those which climate and custom require; while those ascending from the southern to the northern hemisphere, are, by the same laws, similarly prescribed, and their supply controlled. But it must not be inferred that the single demand of local consumption regulates the trade of two or more nations; for in sparsely-settled communities, or where the habits of a people are simple and self-denying, the interchanges would be few, and limited not only in bulk but in variety. Local demand and local consumption are the first considerations of mercantile projects; but commerce is presumed to know no circumscribed limits; it aims to diffuse itself over the universe; and catch up with the same avidity the products of Siberia, as those of Europe, teeming with its millions, and affording markets at every turn. Society values the commodities which it consumes; and in exact proportion as difficulties in obtaining, transporting, and protecting them, beset, surround, or attend the supply, will the estimate be made, and inducements for exchanges be held out, whether these exchanges take place in the steppes of Tartary, in the deserts of Africa, or in the heart of Europe. So that, at Kiatchu, we find a barter, not only of the prime necessities, but the luxuries, of both rude and civilized life—walrus' teeth exhibited in the same mart with teas, muslins with furs, silks with ginseng, hides with sugars, calicoes with rhubarb; and so on to the end of the list. At Nishney-Novgorod we meet with merchants from every clime. They buy, not to sell alone at home, but carry their wares and merchandise to distant bazaars, where they are exchanged and carried still further, and thus find their way into universal consumption. At this emporium no available commodity is omitted; and in every trading-town along the immense line which divides Russia and Siberia from the residue of Asia, extending from the Mediterranean to the Sea of Japan, may be found goods bearing the Russian custom-house stamp, and brought from the Nishney-Novgorod fairs. The natives of Asia, south of this line, instead of settling towards the Indian Ocean, towards the

British East India empire, retreat further and further on Russia, at every extension of territorial boundary of that power. Russia is not only content, but says that it should be so. The czars have never manifested a disposition to cross the Himalayahs, or to contend for those rivers that pour into the Bay of Bengal and the Persian Gulf, which are comparatively valueless in strengthening their dominions or augmenting their internal commerce. They prefer, indeed, that the native tribes shall be driven back into Tartary—that the territorial possessions of the aboriginal inhabitants shall be wrested from them, and the tombs and graves of their ancestry desecrated; that while the British sword, by remorseless cruelties and aggressions, is creating a stern and inflexible enemy, it will be serving to unite a human wall in defence of their extensive Asiatic borders against all other formidable European powers that might attempt, influenced by a more forbearing spirit and conciliatory policy on the part of England, to entrench too near the jealous Cossacks, and thus for ever weaken their Siberian possessions, and jeopardize their future predominance in China. These are the influences that operate with the czars, and explain many of the inconsistencies of action which we observe in their diplomatic dealings. While Nicholas has his eye upon Pekin, and nothing obscures or intercepts the vision, England may, in imitation of the barbaric Tamerlane, erect pyramids on the plains of Sarahunpore of human skulls, and discolor the waters of the Indus with slaughter and carnage—it will matter little to him. It is only as England entrenches upon China, that he will arouse himself to more determined and less enigmatical demonstrations.

The treasures of the eastern hemisphere, from the earliest antiquity, have been objects of great moment to both ancient and modern nations. Perhaps the wealth which it was supposed to contain, particularly on the remote eastern shores of Asia, of gold, and silver, and precious stones, laid, in the ambition of nations to secure it, the foundation of modern commerce, as modern trade has served to extend civilization, and to develop human enterprise and practical industry. The Egyptians, of the more western people, were the first to conduct a foreign traffic, of whom we have any account. But their religious maxims and austere manners ill-fitted them for commercial pursuits. Their prejudices and over-weening pride, operated not only against them, but prevented the demonstration of a commercial character abroad; and in time, they became distinguished only for their religious infatuation, and the zeal and ardor with which they worshipped the graven gods of their own creation. The people next in the order of time, who followed commercial pursuits, were the Sidonians; and from these sprung,

not a race, but a community, of merchants, whose enterprise and perseverance mark a brilliant epoch in the annals of navigation and mercantile opulence. We allude to the Syrians, who are so frequently alluded to in maritime history, and not without just cause. The territory of the Phœnicians, barren and unproductive, would not have sufficed to sustain the population which, even in its earliest settlement, had made it their "land of promise." It was necessary, as this population began to increase, to augment the sources of supply; and we thus find the people, who were all merchants or traffickers, gradually extending the commercial domain, until they had crossed the deserts of Arabia, and penetrated into India; and on the West had passed the Straits of Gibraltar, and explored the coasts of Africa and Spain. The Phœnicians, indeed, monopolized the trade of the Mediterranean for centuries. The Jews, after their exodus and settlement in Palestine, had opportunities to divide this traffic;—nay, with Arabia on one side, and Phœnicia on the other, with the Red Sea as their water-channel to the East, and Joppa, on the Mediterranean, as their port of entry and departure, they could have aspired to a commercial altitude never attained in any of the pagan ages; but they were even less calculated for a foreign trade, with principles such as are recognized and maintained to legitimize it, than had been the Egyptians. They are a calculating, but not a hazardous race. They must possess the tangible evidence of gain, before they will adventure. Now, notwithstanding the kings of Judea possessed ships, we do not read that they ever explored the waters of the Mediterranean, or of the Indian Ocean. On the contrary, David and Solomon formed treaties of commerce and navigation with the kings of Tyre, and through them, or their fleets, obtained those vast riches which were principally appropriated to the Temple and the service of God. The Jews were their own projectors and their own masters in small trade, conducted at home, and with the tribes and nations immediately adjacent; but they never ventured far abroad, nor sought for undiscovered wealth where it was only premised to exist.

After the Egyptians, the Phœnicians, and the Jews in Palestine, we have the Carthaginians. In point of opulence, Carthage was greater than Tyre; in maritime importance, its merchants were possibly equal; in the magnitude of their commercial enterprise, there was but little difference; but the Phœnicians had this advantage: they had succeeded in engrossing the Indian trade, so that the former were content to dispute the trade of the Mediterranean, and to monopolize that which might ultimately offer along the shores of Spain, Gaul and Britain. But, considering them in a united sense, by this time, and in consequence of this union of enterprise, the commerce between the

East, the West, and the North—that is, between India and the Mediterranean, and the latter and the islands of Britain—had become established on an extensive scale, and began to enrich beyond precedent those engaged in it. The nations of Central and Southern Asia cared nothing for commerce. Their chief glory consisted in prosecuting wars, and their ambition in acquiring political power. This spirit, unfortunately, was not wholly foreign to the Greeks. No country on earth was better suited to a flourishing traffic, and for centuries no people ever cared less to take advantage of the natural facilities with which they were supplied. Their geographical situation, their bays and harbors, and their extensive coasts, were disregarded, and the fruits of maritime intercourse, so temptingly proffered, rejected with disdain.

Alexander thought and acted differently. After the edge of Spartan valor had been taken off, and the majesty of Athens had dwindled to a shadow—long after Tyre began to decay, and Carthage had attained maturity—Macedon sent forth a warrior, clad in armor, but with a mind that was readily trained to estimate the true value of commerce. Struck with the favorable situation of the site of Alexandria for a mercantile emporium, he covered Tyre with her ashes, and caused to be erected the magnificent city which bears his name. And he was not mistaken in his views of the importance of this site, which, had a different fate attended Egypt and Syria, would have become one of the grandest and wealthiest ports which the world ever beheld. But when the barbaric hordes of Asia poured forth and inundated Egypt, Alexandria fell to their lust, and suffered the penalty for a magnificence and pomp which barbaric pride could not brook or endure. "I have taken," wrote the victorious Amrou to the Caliph Omar, "the great city of the West." Among its vast wealth and treasures he enumerated the Alexandrian library, which he would have spared, but for the stern and bigoted reply of Omar. "If," said the latter, "these writings of the Greeks agree with the word of God, they are useless, and need not be preserved; if they disagree, they are pernicious, and ought to be destroyed." Commerce never again revived in Egypt after the sacking of this city, and for a time the commerce of India languished. Rome, even in its pristine glory, did not restore it, nor foster an ambition for foreign trade. It may be said with truth, that during her iron sway, commerce rather suffered than was benefited by her.

It was reserved for a later and more enlightened nation to re-open these valuable sluices, which had been partially closed by the violence of war and the revolutions of time. After the heavy cloud which had settled over the civilized world, and

wrapped in gloom science, literature, and the arts, consequent upon the irruption of the barbarians of the north and east—after these clouds had been dispelled, and a lull succeeded the loud din of arms, a colony, originally fishermen, settled on the islands of the Adriatic, cast out their nets for a richer spoil, and re-established the trade of the Indies. Indeed, to such eminence did the republic of Venice attain, all owing to the commercial energy of its people, and as the reward of their magnanimous enterprise, that, when the Christian princes of the world resolved to rescue the tomb of Christ from the infidel, "to whom," they asked, "shall we apply for money and means?" for the exchequers of England and France were drained, and Germany proposed to meet her obligation by supplying more than her share of troops. In their emergency, the haughty kings were fain to sue to republican Venice, and to soil their regal robes at the feet of the Venetian merchants; kneeling through their ambassadors on the very floors of San Mark, and begging from the majesty of the people resources which, with all their pomp and aristocratic pretensions, they could not command. Venice derived her greatness from the trade of India. And when the sceptre passed from her—not stricken from her grasp by a decay of the body politic, or a degeneracy in her people—but by the blow which discovery dealt her—the discovery of the route to India by the Cape of Good Hope—it passed from her forever. Genoa, who had almost rivalled her, invoked upon herself a fate which utterly prevented her from triumphing in the downfall of the former. "Destiny," exclaimed a successor of the noble Dandolo, "may change our fortunes, but it shall never change our happiness, or make us forget our liberties." It was the folly of Genoa to place itself under a foreign yoke, and to alienate its freedom and independence; since when, its commerce has dwindled into insignificance, and itself into obscurity.

We have endeavored thus briefly to recal how important the trade of the East had been to the ancient and to the modern world, in both eras and in all ages, and how eagerly it has been sought after by such nations as could appreciate it. Though the discovery of other continents for awhile caused a diversion into other channels of much of the commercial enterprise of a portion of Europe, the East had still its charm, which could not be resisted. The Portuguese, moved by a reckless spirit of adventure, were not stayed by the tides from ploughing the ocean whither inclination might lead; but nevertheless, and notwithstanding the inducements which the western world and the islands of the Atlantic held forth, they could not persuade themselves from pursuing their scheme of aggrandizement in the East. Spain likewise, although Mexico and Peru were still regarded as the fabled Ophir, and embowelled available treasures

richer than the uncovered mines of Golconda, could not be tempted to forego all thoughts of the trade of India, which the Spanish merchants had really made the basis of their prosperity and opulence. Then in turn we behold Holland, from her pent up and contracted territories—a domain rescued from the waves—issuing forth on the ocean highway, and also demanding tribute of the Indies. And for a long period, the queens of England, of France, of Germany, and of Italy, did not sleep soundly in their imperial beds, unless the drapery thereof was of Eastern fabrication, and its meshes supplied with stories of Indian or Persian myth. From the time of the Crusades to the close of the seventeenth century, century after century witnessed a successive drain from the East to Northern Europe, and yet the mighty store apparently suffered no diminution. England was the last of the powers of that continent to send out her argosies and merchants to buy in the markets of the Tyrians; but her policy was not the policy of peace, nor the policy of those foreign nations who had for ages preceded her in Asia. Her argument was the sword, and her ultimatum—how shall we describe it, or its results, wherever it has been proclaimed? But let that pass. She entered the arena almost the last to contend for the prize of trade of Eastern Asia. Russia was contemporary, and the United States comes next. Will all be equally benefited?

England has devised every possible method to shorten the route between her and her Indian colonies, yet in vain. She has repeatedly, as did Louis XIII. and Napoleon Bonaparte, caused surveys to be made for overland carriage, that would lessen the time between Liverpool and Calcutta (now that the steamer has partially superseded the sail-vessel, and the railway car the turnpike wagon) to seven days; but such projects appear only on paper. They will never be realized, at least under her auspices. Manifest destiny has marked out Egypt, Syria, and Asia Minor, for the rule of the Cossacks or the infidel. England will never find capitalists willing to invest money in undertakings which promise so little, nor will she be ready to do so herself. England, therefore, must continue to look to this continent as affording a means by which a great part of the difficulty under which she labors may be removed. But what part of the continent shall she penetrate in order to compass that end? Does she desire to unite with us in the construction of a ship-canal across the isthmus dividing the Americas? Does she prefer to wait, and avail herself of a Yankee railroad from New-Orleans or New-York to the Pacific? Will she encourage the Canadas to throw a track across their territories, and connect it with those of Great Britain on the other side? Or, does she contemplate something beyond all this? It has been said that Santa Anna is favorable to a retrocession of

Mexico to Spain, and that a large class of the population are disposed to coincide with him. Spain is hopelessly in debt to England, and Mexico inextricably so. Do the indications given portend more than they appear on the surface? Whence the anxiety of Great Britain to secure Cuba to feeble and tottering Spain? Can Santa Anna mean honestly? Does England chance to conclude that ultimately she will possess a right of highway across Mexico, solely and exclusively, in consideration of the pecuniary obligations of that weak and imbecile power? Or, is the scheme even more stupendous—a sale of extraordinary favors to Great Britain by Spain, should Mexico be retroceded, and the purchase to be made by the cancelling of the debts of both States, and ratified by bribes to the Mexican functionaries—whose eloquent wants clamor loudly—such only as England knows how to offer? We shall not attempt to follow up the train of reasoning which these questions suggest, for it would have little connection with our subject; but the suggestions, from their nature, coupled with the signs in the political horizon, importune us, if we value our Pacific possessions and the trade of the East, to waste no opportunity that may offer towards strengthening the former, and secure largely of the latter.

The extent of our domestic trade with the East may be computed, the exports at \$4,000,000, and the imports at \$11,000,000, making a total of \$15,000,000; and this trifling exchange is had with a people numbering perhaps four hundred millions. The trade which England and Russia conduct with the same people, is regarded by these nations as the most important in magnitude of their entire commerce. Our domestic exports are thus apportioned:

DOMESTIC EXPORTS OF THE UNITED STATES TO THE EAST.

Dutch East Indies.....	\$204,000	China.....	\$2,155,000
British East Indies.....	512,000	Asia generally.....	70,000
Manilla and Philippine Isles..	125,000		
		Total.....	\$3,066,000

Politicians, intelligent merchants, and even statesmen, are sometimes misled in fixing the figures of our exports to the East, and can hardly realize, in the absence of official returns, that it presents so meagre a feature. We send to China:

Sperm candles.....	valued at \$7,600	Of iron.....	valued at \$3,900
Timber.....	6,200	Printed cottons.....	" none
" manufactures of	7,000	Uncolored.....	" 1,894,000
Tallow, beef, etc.....	5,000	Wearing apparel....	" 3,500
Butter and cheese.....	3,100	Books and maps....	" 1,800
Hams and pork.....	3,100	Paints, varnishes, etc.	" 3,000
Flour, wheat, Indian corn....	12,600	Gold and Silver.....	" 1,500
Biscuit and ship bread.....	2,800		
Tallow candles and soap.....	1,200	Total.....	\$2,013,400
Manuf. of tobacco, snuff, etc."	3,200	Deduct cotton exports.....	1,894,000
Medical drugs.....	44,500		
Manuf. of copper, of brass....	9,400		\$119,400

It will be seen that after deducting the cotton exports, our supply to China of the prime necessities and luxuries of life does not reach in value \$300,000 per annum. (The actual figures, as given in the official returns, are: Total domestic exports, \$2,155,000; subtract the figures for cotton exports, \$1,894,000, and the balance is \$261,000.) And there only remains, after subtracting the cotton figures, and all other essentials in this aggregate supply, a balance of \$119,400, to cover the payment to us for all that is purchased of our unlimited stores from the field, the workshop, and the mines. It is some gratification that we have a market in China for \$1,800,000 worth of cotton fabrics per annum; but what is this item when compared with the cotton statistics of England? We subjoin a statement, showing the vast magnitude to which the British trade with China has attained, and how insignificant ours appears in juxtaposition.

COTTON AND WOOLLEN EXPORTS TO CHINA FROM		
<i>Cotton Goods.</i>	England.	United States.
Unbleached muslins, pieces.....	1,792,321....	90,523
Bleached " ".....	645,556....	6,398
Twilled goods " ".....	135,591....	116,140
Calicoes and chintzes " ".....	75,174....	3,130
Cotton handkerchiefs, dozens,	61,480....	250
Cotton yarns, lbs.	4,314,947....	59,567
<i>Woollen Goods.</i>		
Broad cloths, pieces	334,643....	615
Cassimeres " ".....	203,717....	968
Camlets, " ".....	381,773....	4,968
Blankets, dozens.....	6,335....	none.

It is barely credible that such a disproportion should exist, when we come to consider that we are thousands of miles nearer to China than England is, that the cotton whence she exports is first sent from our own territories in its raw state, to be manufactured by her, and that for genius and enterprise no people are more proverbial than our own. And this colossal trade has been built up and extended within the past half century. It is true that Great Britain had prepared the opening for it; but her progress has been greater in the East within the last fifteen years than at any previous period, while ours has been inversely slow. There was no account kept in the British Registry Office of any traffic with China prior to 1781, for it was of a character too trifling to make an entry of; and if we except India, the same was true with respect to all Asia. But observe how, by the British persevering policy, that small beginning has been extended:

STATEMENT OF THE EXPORTS OF GREAT BRITAIN TO THE EAST, CONSISTING OF
TEXTILE FABRICS.

(From Parliamentary Papers for 1852.)

<i>Cotton Goods.</i>		India.	China, &c.
Cotton yarn, &c.	lbs.	22,500,000....	8,200,000
Cotton thread,	"	223,000....	39,000
Cotton sundries,	yards	50,000....	2,000
Calicoes, plain,	"	280,000,000....	152,000,000
" printed,	"	50,000,000....	21,000,000
Cambrics, &c.	"	1,000,000....	30,000
Cords, jeans, &c.,	"	70,000....	45,000
Lace, gauze, &c.	"	1,000,000....	170,000
Unenumerated, value		\$44,000....	\$2,500
<i>Mixed Goods.</i>			
Linen and cotton,	yards	400,000....	700,000
"	value	\$21,000....	\$10,000
Linen thread,	lbs.	9,000....	1,300
Woollen and cotton,	value	\$5,000,000....	\$1,600,000
Woollens,	"	\$200,000....	\$600,000
Woollen & worsted	"	\$400,000....	\$2,000,000

Besides the American and other foreign vessels employed in the British Eastern trade, from the ports of England, its own shipping is now reported as follows:—

VESSELS EMPLOYED IN THE EASTERN TRADE FROM BRITISH PORTS.

	ENTERED.		CLEARED.	
	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.
East India Company's Territories:				
Singapore and Ceylon.				
Sailing Vessels	546....	304,201....	491....	283,393
Steamers	1....	941....	4....	2,429
French Possessions:				
Pondicherry.				
Sailing Vessels	2....	700....	1....	1,800
Steamers, none.				
Sumatra, Java, and Philippine Islands:				
Sailing Vessels	30....	14,031....	28....	11,063
Steamers, none.				
China—Sailing Vessels	103....	47,502....	66....	29,679
Steamers	—	—	1....	412
	680	366,675	590	326,976

It is not alone the importance which a foreign trading post is to a commercial community, valuable as that may be in itself. We have endeavoured to explain this position, in alluding to the fair of Nishney-Novgorod. Nations that have succeeded in establishing a colonial commerce, or in obtaining a superior footing in a foreign port, should value it, not only for the benefits which it directly confers on them and their various interests, but for the indirect results which it invariably produces. We will discover, by tracing the history of foreign commerce, that in proportion as a people succeed in augmenting the channels of international intercourse, in number and magnitude, so

will they increase and extend their maritime and political importance, and lay the foundations of a trade radiating from every point between the domestic and the foreign termini, and embracing with each extension new countries and a larger demand for their products. This is true as a natural result of trade and international intercourse, exemplified in every instance, until we may regard it as a fixed law, or a final consequence, which admits of no exception. We perceive that the political power and commerce of the ancient nations which colonized first, or effected a foreign trade contemporary with a purely domestic or local traffic, expanded in an extraordinary manner, and in an almost incredible short period of time; whereas, such as depended on the expansions of their political power and commerce, by the conquest of their local trade—removing impediments and surmounting obstacles, before boldly adventuring on a foreign interchange of commodities—gained on their object but slowly, and in many cases never reached it. The same examples are shown in the modern history of trade. The policy or necessity which induced the Portuguese, the Spaniards, and the Hollanders to contract their maritime operations, has brought incalculable evil to their commerce, and lowered to insignificance the once exalted *prestige* of their names. We shall not pause to ask, was it policy or was it necessity. If policy, which it was not, it was founded in error; if necessity, which we know it was, it was the result of governmental faults, of mercantile abuses, of reckless and unfair dealings, or of misdirected efforts on the part of the commercial classes. For we contend that, notwithstanding the direful ruptures which have agitated the governments of Europe, and brought misfortune and even annihilation to nations of that continent, no event, whether of a warlike or political character, should have conspired to weaken their commercial relations abroad, or to check lastingly their progress in extending these relations. England—to return to our main point—is a brilliant example of what eminent intercourse with a particular portion of the globe has wrought in modern annals. With its eye upon India, it has only thought of the nearest routes to reach it.

The Crusades re-opened the route by the Dead Sea, and the Bosphorus overland discovery multiplied other routes, until we find navigators ascending the Mediterranean, or doubling the Cape of Good Hope or Cape Horn. Or, we see efforts making to penetrate the Arctic seas, to cross this continent, or to unite the English channel with the Bay of Bengal by a band of iron. Between the two countries—the ports of India and those of Great Britain—protections to the transit traffic have been demanded. British forts have arisen intermediate, or military stations been established on each route, which have answered

the nucleus of a British colony or a British settlement; and while protection has thus been afforded, the germs of intermediate trade have taken root. Hence the statistics which follows. And it will be observed that although, on the whole, the trade of England had visibly and profitably increased with the continental nations *remote* from the direct overland route to India, the increase has been greatest with those to which the route approximates nearest, and not only greatest, but evincing a ratio of proportion in the general augmentation which singularly sustains our propositions advanced above.

TRADE OF GREAT BRITAIN WITH EUROPEAN NATIONS IN 1781 AND 1852.

	1781.	1852.
Exports to Denmark, Sweden and Norway.....	\$1,700,000....	\$4,000,200
“ Russia.....	680,000....	7,500,000
“ Germany, including Prussia.....	5,000,000....	38,000,000
“ France.....	40,000....	13,000,000
“ Flanders and Holland.....	12,000,000....	24,000,000
“ Spain.....	31,000....	4,400,000
“ Turkey, including Greece.....	6,000....	15,500,000
“ Madeira.....	125,000....	210,000
“ Canary and Azores Islands.....	none....	500,000

The enlargement of trade with the other nations has been mainly the result of the great expansion of France, Germany, Russia, and Turkey, the territories including, or contiguous to, the Indian European channel. There may also be added to this the commerce brought within the radius, as:

Exports to Malta.....	\$1,700,000
Ionian Isles.....	700,000
Egypt.....	3,300,000
Morocco.....	160,000
Algeria.....	75,000
Tunis.....	16,000
Ports of Red Sea.....	9,000

The British trade with the coast of Africa on the west, and the islands intermediate with India on the Cape of Good Hope route, did not, in 1781, amount in the aggregate to \$10,000. We now find that the domestic exports to—

South Africa, amount to.....	\$4,000,000
Gibraltar.....	4,800,000
West Coast of Africa.....	3,800,000
Cape Verde.....	16,000
Azores.....	237,000
Mauritius.....	1,800,000
Mozambique Channel, Madagascar, &c.....	3,000,000

Let us now turn to the route by Cape Horn. It has been stated on British authority, that prior to 1803 the whole trade between the ports of England and the Straits of Fuego did not average \$4,000,000 per annum; whereas, the trade returns now show the subjoined exportations:

To British West Indies.....	\$12,000,000
Brazil.....	13,000,000
Buenos Ayres.....	4,500,000
Hayti.....	1,400,000
Uruguay.....	400,000
Dutch Guiana.....	30,000
South Sea Islands.....	100,000
Australia.....	14,000,000

In contemplation of a future route for the Indian trade across the isthmus, uniting North with South America, England early projected settlements along the eastern coast, as the Belize, Jamaica, &c. Her vessels, doubling Cape Horn, would cruise along the western coasts of South America; and thus originated that trade with the southern portions of our continent which has attained to such magnitude. It is equally certain, that if the British government had neither sought to command the Indian and Eastern trade, nor endeavored to establish colonies in the South Seas and Eastern Asia, the traffic now conducted on either of the ocean routes named, would have presented features very different from what they now do. Ramifying from Cuba, as a central point, on the isthmus channel, we find the intermediate trade of Great Britain to be—

Exports to British West Indies.....	\$11,000,000
Honduras.....	900,000
Chili.....	5,700,000
Peru.....	4,200,000
Mexico.....	2,200,000
New Grenada.....	1,600,000
Venezuela.....	1,500,000
Central America.....	1,300,000
Foreign West Indies.....	8,000,000
In which may be included the Northern and Southern Pacific trade, radiating from this traffic, amounting to.	7,000,000

On this score we have said enough for our purpose. Keeping steadily in view the advantages which the commerce of the East was capable of conferring, the nation has sought every available means to command that trade, and to monopolize every artery which nature or artifice could put her in possession of, undeterred by even uncommon dangers or extraordinary hazards. Her merchants have boldly and fearlessly struck out in the paths of adventure; and the government, actuated by a liberal, if not in all respects a commendable policy, has encouraged and assisted their schemes, until we behold the kingdom in the condition of an empire, mistress of territories in every hemisphere, and holding maritime and commercial prominence in every port.

We would not wish to see the United States copying the example of England, in winning triumphs with the sword, where the open and many appeals of reason would fail in accomplishing the desired objects; nor the stratagetic and jesuitical policy of Russia, which involves its prey in meshes prepared only

for their ultimate destruction; we would, however, have our merchants possess more general energy of character in some things, and less in others, and hazard something in original enterprises which do not hinge upon British interests, or suffer for want of British sympathy. If the Indian trade, so called, has directly and indirectly enriched the nations engaged in it, from the time of Hiram of Tyre to the present time, with no exception—no variation of the rule, which has proved a natural law—we do not see why our commercial classes should not turn their attention oftener, and with more practical effect, towards the waters of the Pacific, and not so frequently confine it within a sphere, of which Liverpool or London is the focus—the Bank of England the fulcrum.

Our examination of the subject may extend beyond this to another phase. We have spoken of the benefits which England herself has derived, through *direct* channels; but let us not forget that she has opened markets, in which she is *indirectly* benefited. The direct trade which is conducted with the Sandwich Islands, or with Cuba, or with any other foreign port, is primarily important; but intermediate ports transact a local and foreign business on their own account, in which, besides direct British importations and exportations, British products, through adverse and indirect channels, enter as leading elements. Hence Cuba and Hayti foster reciprocal commercial relations, as do both with the Caribbees; and all have an inter-reciprocal traffic with the West Indies and more distant ports. The islands of Polynesia are brought into friendly conjunction with the islands of Australasia, and all Oceanica with the coasts of Asia and America. Java exports 100 bags of coffee to Singapore; Borneo sends forth 100 bales of gutta percha to Calcutta; Buenos Ayres supplies New-Orleans with a thousand hides; and South-Carolina exports a ton of rice for consumption in Havana. These are indigenous products of the countries whence they are obtained; but the countries purchasing, frequently do not pay for them in their products. They are constrained, or they find it to their advantage, to exchange them for British fabrics, or British manufactures, which have been taken in direct or indirect exchange for their domestic exports; and in this manner, though apparently independent in itself, the trade is fostered and augmented as much to the advantage of Great Britain as to the nations more immediately concerned. The following exhibits the extent of this inter-reciprocal traffic:

IMPORTS INTO CHINA FROM INDIA—ANNUAL AVERAGE.

From Bengal—Merchandise.....	\$10,000,000
Treasure.....	1,000,000
" Madras—Merchandise.....	1,500,000
Treasure.....	900,000
" Bombay—Merchandise.....	17,000,000
Treasure.....	700,000

Total..... \$31,100,000

EXPORTS FROM CHINA TO INDIA—ANNUAL AVERAGE.

To Bengal—Merchandise.....	\$600,000
Treasure.....	1,500,000
Madras—Merchandise.....	100,000
Treasure.....	1,000,000
Bombay—Merchandise.....	2,000,000
Treasure.....	6,000,000
Total.....	\$11,200,000
Average Yearly Exports from Van Dieman's Land....	\$3,000,000
“ “ Imports into same.....	4,000,000
“ “ Exports from New South Wales.....	6,000,000
“ “ Imports into same.....	14,000,000
Total.....	\$27,000,000

[Note.—In these returns, no account is taken of the extra shipments of precious metals, consequent upon the discovery of the Australian gold mines.]

Average Yearly Exports from Java and Madura.....	\$36,000,000
“ “ Imports into same.....	14,000,000
“ “ Exports from Philippine Islands.....	6,000,000
“ “ Imports into same.....	6,000,000
Total.....	\$62,000,000

Average Yearly Exports from Calcutta at large.....	\$45,000,000
“ “ Imports into “ “.....	30,000,000
“ “ Exports from Bombay “ “.....	28,000,000
“ “ Imports into “ “.....	26,000,000
“ “ Exports from Madras “ “.....	15,000,000
“ “ Imports into “ “.....	9,000,000
“ “ Exports from Ceylon “ “.....	1,500,000
“ “ Imports into “ “.....	3,000,000
“ “ Exports from Singapore “ “.....	10,000,000
“ “ Imports into “ “.....	9,000,000
Total.....	\$176,500,000*

NUMBER OF VESSELS EMPLOYED IN THE LOCAL TRADE OF THE EAST INDIA POSSESSIONS (BRITISH) IN 1842.—FROM BRITISH REVENUE TABLES.

	Ships.	Tonnage.	Men.
Mauritius.....	123....	12,035....	1,404
Bombay.....	97....	41,532....	2,575
Malabar.....	15....	4,179....	237
Tanjore.....	33....	5,070....	257
Madras.....	27....	4,111....	193
Coringa.....	19....	3,775....	157
Calcutta.....	167....	45,169....	2,248
Ceylon.....	620....	28,826....	2,480
New South Wales and Van Dieman's Land..	361....	34,532....	3,066
	1,462	179,229	12,618

Russia has no maritime commerce of her own with Eastern Asia and the islands of the South Pacific. The bulk of her

* This is the aggregate of the trade at large. The writer has no means of separating the local or provincial traffic from the distant and foreign trade. It is stated, however, that the reciprocal local trade of these ports per annum amounts to \$80,000,000.

trade is with China, and this, as we have repeated, is conducted overland. Tea is the principal article imported from the latter country, for which furs, silver, and latterly large quantities of Russian cotton fabrics, are given in exchange. In the article of tea alone, Russia imports to the value of six, seven, and even eight millions of dollars per annum. The quantities of furs, leather, cottons, etc., exported and bartered for this, will be seen by the annexed returns:

EXPORTS FROM RUSSIA TO CHINA OVERLAND.

Furs.....	value roubles, 2,400,000.....	\$1,800,000
Leather.....	" 350,000.....	262,500
Hides and skins.....	" 300,000.....	225,000
Linens.....	" 200,000.....	1,500,000
Cottons.....	" 1,700,000.....	1,275,000
Woollens.....	" 1,400,000.....	1,400,000
Total.....		\$4,762,500

These are the leading articles exported to China; but they do not make up a moiety of the entire traffic, as we have elsewhere explained. A committee, appointed by the House of Representatives to inquire into the expediency of a railroad across this continent, or a ship-canal, with a view to the augmentation of our domestic trade with the East, say in their report: "The Russian merchandise is taken to Kiatchu, thence across the frontier to Pekin, thence by canal to Shanghai, Ningpo, Amoy, Foo-chow-foo, and even to Canton; but the exchange for teas and other Chinese commodities takes place on the frontier at Mau-ma-chin. With our road all this trade would take place at Shanghai, Ningpo, or Amoy, and make a great saving in expense to the Chinese also." But it is a mistake to suppose that the Russian trade with the Chinese could be so easily directed into other channels. It has been secured by accomplished diplomacy, and well-enacted strategy, and in its details, its character, and its principles, has become so intimately interwoven with the political welfare, and even destiny of China, that its annihilation would jeopardize the integrity of that empire, and bring no certain remuneration to the despoiler. It has grown, and flourished, and expanded under no ungenial sun, despite the efforts of Great Britain to check it, and without any apparent exertions on the part of Russia. We must, if we hope to obtain a profitable and permanent foothold in the ports of the East, avoid a useless collision with the Cossack in the overland trade, which to that power is in reality a mighty political agency, subject to its control, whether for the welfare of Eastern Asia, China in particular, or for revolutionary purposes, in directing which the peace and independence even of India could be whelmed. The field before us is open to access, but it must

be explored first by our vessels. Enterprise must seek to establish a position in the ports of the East by honest and honorable competition in the waters of the Pacific, not by a circuitous policy, or a display of aggressive measures. England, of all the distant nations which have maintained maritime intercourse with India, is a melancholy exception to the observance of forbearance or magnanimity where interests have conflicted, or religious prejudices have been brought into antagonism. And how is that power now regarded even in her own provinces and colonies of the East? She dare not advance a step, unless attended by engines of death; and from every jungle she is glared upon by fierce and terrible enemies, whose dreadful vengeance she will one day deprecate, when, like Jamaica, she has made India a waste garden, and "her haughty flag trails in the dust. To cover the misery of her deep humiliation, China will spurn her, while Russia may deign to spit upon her."^{*}

A Liverpool circular lays some stress upon the fact, that the importations of cotton goods into Persia, Turkey, Central Asia, and China, show a decline within the last two or three years. This assertion is disingenuously made. The statistics of trade of these countries, so far as they are to be obtained, exhibit results which change the version. It may be true that British fabrics are not so eagerly sought for as formerly, but American and Russian textiles are in greater demand than ever, especially the latter, owing to the local advantages which the Russians possess to avail themselves of every favorable change of the interior Asiatic markets. The cotton manufacture of the empire was never before in so flourishing a condition. There are eight mills in successful operation in St. Petersburg, and fourteen in European Russia, with an aggregate of eleven hundred spindles, all of which produce yarn, Nos. 32, 37, 38, 39, equal in all respects to the Manchester twists. So late as 1842, the empire imported muslins, colored stuffs, &c., for home consumption; now, besides supplying largely the local markets, a heavy business is done in exporting to Asiatic countries. The same may be said of the progress of the woollen manufacture. Russia has another and a more tangible mode of encouraging the China trade. It pays 6 silver roubles premium on every yard of velvets or half velvets exported to that empire, and 6 silver roubles on every yard of nankeens so sent. A drawback is also allowed on cotton and woollen goods destined to the Caucasian frontiers, and a drawback on teas imported for exportation to Europe, or for consumption elsewhere. Her commercial relations with portions of Asia, independently of the traffic of the great fairs, present the following features:—

^{*} Cobden's speech at Manchester, March, 1849.

Imports from Turkey in Asia,	\$700,000	.. 2-3 woven cottons.
" Persia,	3,200,000	.. 2-3 woven cottons, silks and woollens.
" Kerghis Steppes	1,200 000	.. 1-2 cattle.
" Khiva.....	65,000	.. Dye-stuffs and raw cotton.
" Bokhara.....	500,000	.. 1-2 cotton fabrics.
" Taschkend.....	380,000	
" Kokhan.....	35,000	
" China.....	10,000,000	.. Principally tea.
" Other countries.	500,000	

Total.....\$16 580,000

Exports to Turkey in Asia—Furs, leather, cottons, &c.....	400,000
" Persia.....	500,000
" Kerghis Steppes.....	1,190,000
" Khiva.....	31,000
" Bokhara.....	200,000
" Taschkend.....	200,000
" Kokhan.....	36,000
" China.....	6,000,000

\$8,557,000

16,580,000

Grand total.\$25,137,000

We have little left to add. Our main object has been to show, that whatever course has been pursued by nations to secure the trade of the East, it has enriched them, when so obtained, although the means have varied, and the policy has conflicted. We desired likewise to point out the different manner in which nations have been strengthened in forming this commercial alliance, by adducing examples totally opposite in character, as Russia and Great Britain. And, finally, we had a third purpose, to show, that while the trade itself, by direct agency, has been so beneficial; it has built up an indirect commerce of even greater magnitude and importance, as Russia in Asia, and England throughout the world. Let us ponder these plain facts; and be ready, with something more of original enterprise, to profit by the opening which the Chinese revolution may produce, and advance more boldly with our wares and fabrics into a quarter of the globe to which we have been too long comparative strangers.

ART. II.—EARLY LIFE IN THE SOUTHWEST.

No. IV.

CAPTAIN JOHN McHENRY, PIONEER OF TEXAS.

BATTLE OF NEW-ORLEANS—A CRUISE WITH LAFITTE—GEN. LONG'S EXPEDITION IN 1819—BATTLE AT GALVESTON—MILAM—CHRISTY—JOHN AUSTIN—IMPRISONMENT IN MEXICO—MURDER OF LONG—JOEL R. POINSETT—SIEGE OF PORTO CABELLO—AUSTIN'S COLONY—TEXAS REVOLUTION—MASSACRE OF THE DOUGLASSES.

JOHN McHENRY was born in the county of Antrim, Ireland, in 1798, of humble parentage, and received little or no education. At an early age he manifested a fondness for the sea, and in 1811, meeting with opposition from his father in the gratification of his wishes, ran away, but was caught and taken home. His father, however, seeing his determined spirit, yielded his assent, and the same year he bade adieu to his native isle and sailed for the shores of America, and in 1812 arrived in New-Orleans. He followed the sea coastwise till about the time Gen. Jackson arrived in the latter city, and then volunteered his services to operate on a gun-boat on one of the lakes near the city, in which position he performed valuable services, and took part in the great contest of the 8th of January.

Soon after this, the great struggle for liberty in South America was arresting attention in the Southern States, and the celebrated Lafitte obtained a commission as privateer from the government of Venezuela. In the year 1816 or '17, (his memory is not so clear as to exact dates,) McHenry enrolled himself under Lafitte for a cruise through the West Indies and along the Spanish Main. The fleet of the reported pirate consisted of the brig Gen. Victoria, the schooner Blank, and another whose name is not remembered. They repaired to Galveston Island, and there fitted out—each vessel being well manned. From Galveston the fleet sailed down the coast, off Tampico, Vera Cruz and Campeachy, and took several unimportant Spanish prizes. At Sisal, on the coast of Yucatan, they cut out a fine large schooner in the night, under the walls of the port, which was highly prized as a vessel, and proved to have been a slaver.

From Sisal, Lafitte sailed for Cape Antonio, Cuba, and on the way espied a fleet of ten merchant vessels, under convoy of a Spanish frigate. Lafitte made signal for his vessels to come alongside for consultation, and then addressed the men on each,

to know what they were willing to do—to fight or not. The men held a brief "talk," and authorized their companion, Theodore Rawlins, a Baltimorean, to announce their anxiety to fight, saying they had now been out five months and realized nothing.

Lafitte was evidently discomfited by their bold response, and then, for the first time, disclosed to his followers a startling fact—that his commission from the Venezuelan government had expired, and if they should be captured, their fate would be such as the law awarded to pirates. This annunciation spread the utmost discontent and mortification among the better class of the men, and they, to the number of forty-one, demanded of Lafitte one of the vessels to enable them to reach New-Orleans. With some reluctance, he gave them the brig *Gen. Victoria*, first taking off her guns, and they sailed in company to the small island of Muger (Moo-her), near Honduras. Here they separated, and the *Victoria* tried to beat to windward to clear a reef; but on the following morning Lafitte was to windward and bore down upon her, and ordered Theodore Rawlins and one Long, whom he suspected of having persuaded these men to desert his standard, to be sent on board his vessel, which, as the *Victoria* was entirely unarmed, was done. In a short time, Rawlins was sent back with an order to cut the *Victoria's* topmast, flying topmasts, and flying jibboom, and heave them overboard, saying also that Rawlins might return home, but that he should send Long to Liberia, to suffer for his desertion. The orders of the freebooter were of course obeyed.

The vessels now separated, and McHenry's connection with, and knowledge of Lafitte, there terminated. The *Victoria*, at the close of three weeks' sail in her disabled condition, reached the Balize; not, however, without serious apprehensions on the part of the crew, lest they should be boarded by a revenue cutter and placed under arrest as suspicious characters. She came to outside, sent in her long-boat, and surrendered to Capt. Gates, custom-house officer, stating the whole facts to him. Gates treated them kindly, and sent the vessel up to New-Orleans, where she was claimed by the Spanish Consul as having been captured previously from Spain. The late Isaac T. Preston, sympathizing with the unfortunate men in their destitution, volunteered his professional services, and had the vessel awarded by the Admiralty to them.

Capt. McHenry, yet but a youth, remained about New-Orleans from that time until the departure of Gen. Long's celebrated second expedition for the invasion of Mexico, through Texas, to aid the patriots in the revolutionary struggle, then in its ninth year, and near its close—this was in 1819.

The Mexican revolution opened in 1810. In the fall of 1812, the first party of American adventurers, some 300 in number,

had entered Texas, through Nacogdoches, under the chief command of Colonel Magee, (formerly a Lieutenant in the United States Army,) including as officers also Kemper, Suckett, Ross, Perry, and others. They took Goliad, (then La Bahia), were besieged all winter by the royalist General Salcedo, (Magee dying in the mean time,) but in the spring the latter retreated, was pursued and defeated on the Solado, near San Antonio. The patriots and American adventurers now obtained entire control of San Antonio and its dependencies; but in a short time General Ellisando came on with 2,000 royalist troops. He was met beyond the city, surprised, and completely routed. A second detachment, however, was sent forward, and on the 13th of August, 1813, the famed battle of the "Medina" was fought on the Laredo road, eight miles beyond the Medina, by Arredonda, with 2,000 regulars, and Toledo with 600 Mexicans, 400 Indians, and 275 or 300 Americans, under Colonel Perry, Kemper, Suckett, and others. The patriots were defeated with great slaughter, very few Americans escaping. This closed that effort on the part of the Americans; but in 1817-18, General Long, a young man of fine talent and noble ambition, having heard of the gallant struggle of the Mexicans for liberty, conceived the idea of aiding them or of establishing a free government on some firm basis. He fitted out an expedition at Natchez, Miss., advanced to Nacogdoches, and there established a provisional government. His force was very small, and being temporarily divided into three divisions, was attacked in detail, and driven in fragments across the Sabine.

Defeated in his efforts, Long resolved upon a different plan of operations. He determined to enter Texas by water, and make Bolivar Point, on Galveston Bay, his head-quarters, for the present at least, by which means supplies could be more easily received from New-Orleans.

In 1819, therefore, General Long carried this resolution into effect, conveying his men and supplies from New-Orleans to Bolivar Point in various small vessels. He at once fortified the place and mounted some guns. A few days before his intended departure for the western towns of La Bahia and San Antonio, Captain McHenry came down from New-Orleans to repair a vessel for Captain Cochran, who belonged to the expedition, and Long persuaded him also to unite his fortunes with those of the adventurers. The *nominal* head of this expedition was General Trespalacios, a patriot chief, who had fled from Mexico to New-Orleans, and there formed an intimacy with Long. Long was *de facto* the master spirit.

It was agreed that Trespalacios, with a few followers, and a small sloop, should go down and effect a landing at or near Tampico, there to rally a patriot force to co-operate with Long,

who was to advance from La Bahia (Goliad) or San Antonio by land. Here we find the celebrated Colonel Benjamin R. Milam, (afterwards so distinguished in Texas, and who gloriously fell at San Antonio in 1835,) and Colonel Christy, one of the New-Orleans family, both of whom accompanied Trespalacios on his expedition. They left Galveston before Long, and will be referred to hereafter.

The entire effective command of General Long, after the departure of Trespalacios, numbered fifty-two men. It would be very interesting to many of the Southwestern readers of the Review to have the names of all of the daring party, but Captain McHenry finds it impossible to recall them all. I obtained from him, however, the subjoined list:

General Long, commander; Major Burns, an Englishman; Captain John Austin, (afterwards distinguished in Texas;) Captain Johnson; Captain Williams, of Kentucky; Lieutenants, Egan, a New-Yorker; Robertson, a Tennessean; E. Stanly Williams, (native of Connecticut—had lived in Virginia,) aide-de-camp to Long; Lieutenant Elliott, an Englishman; Lieutenants Chase and Toby, both of Massachusetts; Sergeant Robertson, (Scotchman, and afterwards a traitor;) Patton, (office not remembered;) Dr. Allen, Surgeon, (an Irishman and ex-surgeon in the British navy;) privates, John McHenry, Ebenezer Lathrop, of Massachusetts, (accidentally killed at La Bahia;) James Wilson, of Tennessee, (afterwards a traitor;) White, (subsequently famed in Texas as "Old Blanco;") Smith; another Smith, a jeweller; Frank Keller, of Mass.; John Wyatt and George Early, of Penn.; Henry Wall, English; Black, of Louisiana; Isaac, his son; two Irishmen, known as Big and Little Patrick, (both blacksmiths, and both traitors at Monterey;) Lincoln, a daring and talented young man, from Massachusetts; McDonald, a Marylander; Lieutenant Rosenberg, a German; Bliker, a Russian; and Harnstein, a German, (both traitors at Monterey;) Captain Browne, a gallant Swede, intended as a naval officer, also accompanied Long.

While General Long was at Bolivar, a French sloop, freighted with wines and Mexican supplies, bound to Cassano, stranded on Galveston Island, near the present city. The Caranchua Indians, to the number of 200 warriors, were then encamped in the immediate vicinity, and at once attacked and butchered all on board the sloop, plundered the craft, and entered upon a general jollification and war-dance. Long determined to chastise them for their baseness, and accordingly, after nightfall, at the head of thirty men (including McHenry,) he passed over in small boats to the island, and made an unexpected assault upon the exulting wretches, who were then greatly heated by the wines they had so cruelly obtained. The Caranchuas, however,

though surprised, were not alarmed, but seizing their weapons and yelling furiously, met their assailants with determined courage. With such superior numbers they were a full match for Long—the combatants soon came to a desperate hand-to-hand fight, of doubtful issue; but Long, ever calm and resolute, directed his men in a masterly manner, and effected a retreat to his boats, leaving thirty-two Indians killed, and three of his own men dead, and two badly, besides several lightly wounded. George Early was severely wounded. Long's party took two Indian boys prisoners, and retained them—one of whom, however, was accidentally killed some time afterwards. This is doubtless the first engagement known between the warlike Caranchuas and the Americans. That once powerful race is now extinct, or so nearly, as to have no community existence. Young Lincoln signalized himself in this engagement; he was a gallant, but wild fellow—had left home well-to-do in the world, gambled his money away, turned preacher, and finally resolved upon frontier life.

When Long left Bolivar, his wife, (still residing in Brazoria county, Texas,) Mrs. Dr. Allen, and a Dr. Edgar, were left at that place. Anson Taylor, a stalwart frontiersman, at the same time settled on the Trinity, near the Cooshattee village, and Walter C. White, and Col. Knight, (now of Brazoria county), went up on Buffalo Bayou to make a crop of corn. These were doubtless the first American settlements west of the Sabine. Mr. White subsequently became a wealthy merchant, and died in 1837 or '38, at Brazoria.

Among Long's followers was also one Mordella, a nephew to Trespalacios, who was found to be engaged in a conspiracy against the expedition, and was tried and executed on the east end of Galveston Island.

All things being in readiness, Long set sail, destined for La Bahia. His fleet consisted of a small schooner and two sloops. They entered the bay of Matagorda, thence passed through what is now known as Bayou McHenry, into Espiritu Santo Bay, and up the Guadalupe River to the "Mesquit Landing," some 15 miles from the mouth. Here they disembarked, and marched for La Bahia, now Goliad, leaving the elder Black in charge of the boats, (who was killed a few days later by the Spaniards). They surrounded the fort at night, undiscovered by its occupants, and at dawn made a gallant onslaught, under the cry of "Republicanos!" The resistance was feeble, and the garrison soon surrendered.

Long remained in quiet possession of the town and fort for three days; but on the morning of the fourth day, was aroused by the reveille of the royalists. They proved to be 700 cavalry and four pieces of artillery from San Antonio, besides some

irregular troops from the immediate vicinity, commanded by Francisco Perez and Fernando Rodriguez. They crossed the river, and attacked Long in the fort, but were repulsed with severe loss. The royalists then sent in a message by a Frenchman, to the effect that they did not wish to spill blood, and if Long would surrender, he should be kindly treated, &c. Long declined, but proposed to settle the matter by single combat with any man in the royalist camp, which was also declined. About this time, Garcia, who commanded the fort when it was surrendered to Long, and who had been warm in protestations of friendship ever since, fired a pistol at the General, the bullet grazing his person. The action was then renewed, and vigorously kept up for two hours, the royalists occupying the house-tops, protected by the palisades, the Americans dealing death to them whenever one came within rifle shot. Considerable damage was done them by the sharp-shooters. The royalists again sounded a parley, and sent in the Frenchman a second time, saying there was a misunderstanding in the matter; that they had mistaken Long for the late royalist garrison—and had attacked him under that impression—that they were *patriots too*, and would receive Long as a friend, &c. Long asked them why they fought under the royalist flag? "Because," said they, "there is a large royalist force near by, and we wished to deceive them, if it became necessary." Things remained in this position some two days, when, strange as it may seem, they actually deceived Long, and induced him to receive them as friends. It was agreed that, merely in order to quiet the women in La Bahia, Long's party should, for the present, lay down their arms. Long was to have an escort to conduct him south to Trespalacios, and whenever he sent an express back, his men should follow. It is difficult to reconcile the stupidity of General Long on this occasion, with his usual undoubted boldness and shrewdness. It can only be accounted for by the unequalled powers of deception peculiar to his enemies on all similar occasions. The terms of capitulation were reduced to writing.

So soon as the Americans laid down their arms, the Spaniards embraced them very warmly, professing a sincere friendship. Horses and an escort were promptly provided, and Long, Burns, and John Austin, were sent forward to San Antonio. As soon as they were gone, the remainder of the prisoners (for prisoners they were) were ordered into line, and each man required to give his name, age, and place of nativity, avowedly to allot them out for kind treatment among the families in the place. But while this was going on, the house was suddenly surrounded by a large body of soldiers; the bells rang, loud huzzas were heard outside, and they were told they were prisoners.

Being stripped of everything but their clothes, they were thrown for four days into a filthy prison, and half-fed on miserable beef and half-cooked corn, producing a distressing flux, from which Patton and Egan finally died. This was in the winter of 1819-'20; and in very cold weather they were hurried on to San Antonio, their allowance being a little dried beef. After a stay of three days, they were sent on with Long, Burns, and Austin, under a strong guard, to Laredo, where they were kindly treated, and transferred from the control of the villanous Perez, to that of a young and humane officer. The people gave them a fandango, and thenceforward they were allowed 25 cents per day to feed themselves. The people loaded them with presents. From Laredo they were marched to Monterey, and placed in charge of General Lopez, commander of the Eastern Provinces. His brother became devotedly attached to Gen. Long, and rendered his captivity less painful. At this time the Mexican revolution was near its close. Lopez had around him two regiments, one royal, the other suspected of republicanism. The officers quarrelled—went out to a spring for a hand-to-hand fight, and killed four of their number.

The Russian in Long's company, while at Monterey, insulted one of Long's officers, *as an American*, one day in his presence, and in the service of Gen. Lopez. Long saw instantly the fellow's design of making fair weather for himself with Lopez; and with the spirit of a tiger, knocked him down, and would have dispatched him, but for the interference of others. Lopez said that if Long went to heaven and found no republicans there, he would revolutionize it. Though distant at first, Lopez yielded to the winning and manly address of Long, and was very kind to him. A month passed in Monterey without any thing of interest, when Long asked permission to proceed to the city of Mexico. He, Major Burns, and Capt. John Austin were allowed to do so. At this time, the other members of the expedition were offered the option of returning to the United States, taking the oath of allegiance to the new government, or remaining as prisoners, with the privilege of the city limits. White (Old Blanco), and one of the Smiths, returned home; the others preferred remaining under duress, hoping thereby to receive some remuneration for their sacrifices in the patriot cause, and continued in Monterey over six months.

Long reached Mexico just as the new government was being organized, and there met Trespalacios, Cols. Milam and Christy. The news of the acknowledgment of Mexican independence by the United States had just arrived, and spread joy throughout the country. Trespalacios was appointed Governor of the Department of San Antonio de Bexar. Long's fine address and commanding person soon won him friends, and all seemed

anxious to do him honor. Trespalacios alone was fired with jealousy towards him, and determined on his ruin. Long had been invited to visit the Minister from Chili, whose rooms were in the Old Inquisition. Going in at the gate, he was confronted and shot dead by a soldier, as all believed the hired tool of Trespalacios. Indignant at this unholy sacrifice of their noble chief, Milam, Christy, and Austin left Mexico and rejoined their companions in Monterey, reporting their suspicions of Trespalacios. They, with McHenry and others, resolved, if possible, to avenge Long's death; and as Trespalacios would in a short time pass through Monterey for San Antonio, they hoped an opportunity would offer to take his life. The plan was revealed to their companions; two of whom (Wilson and Miller) went on to Saltillo, met Trespalacios, and told him of their designs. An order was then sent on for all the men to be sent under guard to Saltillo, but without any intimation of the cause. Milam, Christy, and Austin at once suspected they were betrayed. They were confined separately; but McHenry and Keller, who were still at liberty, visited them, and with Wyatt and Williams, procured and secreted some arms, and concerted a plan of escape. Unfortunately, however, Col. Christy, (who had been a member of Gen. Mina's celebrated expedition, and had possession of important papers in relation to that, as well as Long's) had deposited his papers with a Mexican officer's wife, and would not leave without them. The plan was thus frustrated, first by delay, and then by their removal.

They were all marched off to San Luis Potosi, Queretaro and the city of Mexico, stopping at various places for several days or weeks. At San Luis la Paz they beheld the town razed to the ground, and the spot where the valiant Mina had reluctantly put 250 royalist officers and citizens to death, in retaliation for their unheard-of cruelties to the patriots. From San Luis Potosi they were escorted by a colonel, who had served under Mina with Christy, by whom great kindness was shown them. In passing through towns where crowds would turn out to gaze upon them, this officer would take Christy's arm and walk through the streets with him as a mark of respect; at Queretaro he was specially kind.

At this time the fiery spirit of republicanism was on the wane, and Iturbide had been proclaimed emperor. At the city of Mexico they were placed in close confinement. The celebrated General Wilkinson, once of the United States army, and a Mr. Symon, were in the city. Wilkinson appeared cold to the unfortunate men, and never visited them; while Lyman was unremitting in his kindness to them, sparing neither trouble nor money to render them comfortable. Capt. McHenry speaks of him in terms of the highest veneration.

After remaining in close confinement in the city for ten months, the late lamented Joel R. Poinsett arrived in Mexico as the first minister from the United States. With a nobleness that endeared him to each of the unfortunate men, he pressed their case upon the government, and procured their liberation and an escort to Tampico, where, by his orders, the United States sloop of war John Adams was in readiness to convey them home; the officers and men of the John Adams raised money to clothe them and provide for their personal wants. The Adams touched at Havana, when the men had their choice of seeking a passage to New-Orleans or continuing in this vessel to Norfolk, Va. McHenry and Keller went to New-Orleans; Milam, Christy, Austin, and all the others, continued on to Norfolk. This was in December, 1821, and here ends the expedition of the gallant but unfortunate Long—one that, in the opinion of the writer, has never been correctly chronicled before, and one in which the people of Texas, at least, have ever manifested a deep interest. The most ample notes were obtained from Captain McHenry on the subject, and no man is more entitled to confidence and respect for his integrity than he. It may be interesting to remark also, that he now knows of no other living member of the expedition. Milam and Austin afterwards became distinguished men in the annals of Texas.

SIEGE OF PORTO CABELLO.

In the spring of 1822, an expedition was fitting out in New-Orleans, to aid the illustrious Bolivar in his South American struggle for liberty. McHenry and E. Stanly Williams, bosom friends in Long's expedition, met there and determined to join it. This Williams was a talented and true-hearted man, and a devoted friend of Colonel Milam, both before and after this.

They sailed in the sloop of war, Eureka, Captain Pelott, a North Carolinian, with about 150 men, for Porto Cabello, Venezuela, and soon arrived at their destination. They found several republican vessels in waiting for them—the Iris frigate, a gun brig, commanded by Captain Daniels, of Baltimore, among them. The town was well fortified, and resisted all attempts by the vessels' guns. Several days were spent in a fruitless bombardment. Immediately behind the city there was a towering rock, lifting its spiral peak above the town and harbor. An old Scotchman proposed to lead a party in getting a cannon on its summit, to pour death down into the fort. His request was granted, and after fourteen days of incessant toil in cutting, drilling and climbing, the highest point was reached, and the big gun began to throw "leaden rain and iron hail" down into the fort, breaking legs, bursting skulls, and knocking the whole establishment into a perfect compound of human fragments,

spreading consternation and dismay in the fort and in the city, till the doomed occupants imploringly begged for quarter, and surrendered at discretion. This action was fought under the flag of Colombia, and the victory proved to be of immense advantage to Bolivar.

About this time news reached Porto Cabello that a French vessel had captured two Colombian gun-boats in the West Indies. The Eureka was ordered to sail over and inquire into the matter, as France and Bolivar were friendly. She sailed out through the Moona passage, but missed the French fleet; ran down to the Spanish end of San Domingo, where the negroes ruled as the lords of the land, and who were also on friendly terms with Colombia. The Eureka had run short of water, and sent a boat with a lieutenant, midshipman, and four seamen, (McHenry among them,) into a river to examine for that necessary article. Notwithstanding the Colombians and San Domingans were friendly, the officer in charge of the boat was instructed to say, in case any difficulty should arise on shore, (lest through the Domingans the Spanish fleet should learn their whereabouts,) that they hailed from the British sloop of war Villarosa, Captain Sir William Bently, then known to be in those seas. In the mouth of the river they were arrested by a squad of negro soldiers, and, notwithstanding their declaration, were sent some forty miles into the interior, to be examined by the governor. In the afternoon, the Eureka became alarmed, and fired signal guns for the boat to return. In reply to this, the negroes on shore, after night, built large fires on the beach, and danced around them in derision of the uneasy vessel. This induced Captain Pelott to believe his men were in the hands of pirates, and thereupon he landed his entire force, seized the local governor and other officers, burnt many houses, and returned to the Eureka, leaving a message for the authorities, stating to what flag he belonged, and that the prisoners he had taken should be held as hostages till the delivery of his men. The governor to whom the prisoners had been sent, at once released and started them back, but ere they had gone ten miles, information of the sortie from the Eureka reached him, when he ordered them back, and had them sent forward to the city of San Domingo, and there imprisoned to await further orders. On the way, the lieutenant, a tyrant at heart, undertook to impose an onerous duty on McHenry, who being in an unpleasant mood at best, administered a severe chastisement, *a la fisticuff*, to him. They were imprisoned in a fortress rising upon a rock at the water's edge.

The Eureka returned to Porto Cabello to procure from Bolivar a formal demand for his men, and was expected at the close of six weeks daily to arrive with the demand. But McHenry

dreaded the power of the petty lieutenant, in the event of their return to the vessel, more than the chances of escape from his cell, and securing an interview with the mate of the Boston brig *Martha*, Captain Hait, then about to sail, he resolved to reach the United States if possible. Accordingly, he constructed a rope out of his clothes and some strings furnished him by the mate, and about midnight let himself down from a third story, through an opening in a privy, and directly over the water. To his amazement, when he had descended to the end of the frail rope, he found "no bottom;" but to reascend was impossible, and, repeating a fervent prayer to God for protection, he "let go," and found bottom about three feet below. The surprise, in the darkness and stillness around, for the moment overcame his reduced powers; yet no time was to be lost, and he soon swam out to the brig, and had scarcely been securely concealed under a pile of mahogany logs prepared for the emergency, when a squad of soldiers boarded the vessel, and made a diligent but fruitless search for him.

McHenry reached Boston, and then returned to New-Orleans without anything of interest occurring. In the latter city he again met his friend E. Stanly Williams, from whom he learned that the *Eureka* arrived at San Domingo two days after his escape, and recovered the other prisoners.

Austin's colony in Texas was now being founded, and McHenry determined to identify himself with that interesting movement. He purchased a schooner, and placed her in the trade to the Brazos River and Matagorda Bay in the autumn of 1822. In 1826 he aided Kerr and De Witt in founding the "old station" on the La Vaca River. He and Captain Pearce then jointly owned and ran a schooner in the same trade till 1828-9, bringing over a considerable number of emigrants and goods for Mexican traders into the bay of Matagorda; among the latter, two cargoes for the father of the writer was landed at Matagorda in 1827-8. In the spring of 1829, he bade a final adieu to "life on the ocean wave," and, taking to himself a help-mate, settled at his present residence on the La Vaca, where nothing occurred unusual to frontier life till the revolution of 1835.

When the Patriot army rallied around San Antonio in the autumn of '35, McHenry was there eager for the fray, having been in the first engagement at Gonzales. Colonel Wilson had just escaped from his second long imprisonment in Mexico, and joined the volunteers in the attack on Goliad. He arrived a few days later at the camp before San Antonio, and then, for the first time since their separation at Havana in 1821, met and recognized McHenry. Their meeting, so unexpected, yet so affectingly pleasing, brought tears from the eyes of General

Austin, and all who witnessed their long embrace and their manly emotions. Two truer hearts never met; but, alas! that of the chivalrous Wilson soon ceased to beat. He gloriously fell at the head of his storming column, December 18, 1835, in San Antonio.

McHenry distinguished himself in the "Grass Fight," near San Antonio, on the 28th November, 1835, and after Cos' capitulation, returned home with the citizen soldiery.

In February, 1836, Santa Anna arrived at San Antonio at the head of his heavy columns of mercenary troops. The settlers of the west were flying towards the Sabine. The families of John Douglass (McHenry's father-in-law) and Dougherty alone were left in an isolated position in what is now the south-western part of La Vaca county. Douglass had two sons—Augustine, aged fifteen, and Thaddeus, aged thirteen—who were out herding cattle about the 4th of March. They heard guns and Indian yells at the house, and on approaching under cover of a chaparral, discovered the house in flames. They secreted themselves till night, and then approached their late happy home, when they found their father, mother, sister and little brother, with Dougherty, one son and two daughters, all butchered and scalped by the bloody Zanguas, the house robbed, and their little home a pile of ashes.

The boys were young, inexperienced, and now alone in the wilderness. They knew that all the Americans were retreating to the east, and thither they determined to follow, if they could do so. They reached the La Vaca at Bernard Brown's deserted place, travelled down stream to the old Atoscocita road, followed it to the Colorado, where they overtook the army of the Mexican General Woll, to whom their sad story was communicated, and by whom they were most kindly received and provided for. In a few days they were taken by a Frenchman named Augusta, a traitor to the Texians, to his place on Cummings' Creek, where he had collected a lot of runaway negroes, and a great many cattle belonging to the retreating citizens, from which he was supplying Woll with beef at enormous prices. In the meantime, the field of San Jacinto was won, the Mexicans were preparing to retreat, and small parties of Texians were venturing back. Augusta sent Augustine Douglass down to learn on what day Woll would leave on his retreat. On the same day a party of Texians, headed by Allison York, who had been informed of the existence of the den of Augusta, attacked him and his outlawed runaways, and drove them in haste to the river bottoms. Little Thaddeus Douglass, not understanding the nature of the fight, and alarmed for his own safety, fled down the road, and very soon met his brother returning from General Woll's camp on the Frenchman's fine horse. With equal prudence and

financial skill, they concluded to save *themselves* and the *noble steed* at the same time; and both mounting, put off at a rapid pace for the Brazos River. They had not travelled many miles, however, when they met the invincible Colonel Henry W. Kames, at the head of the Texian cavalry, from whom they learned, for the first time, of the glorious victory of San Jacinto, and that they would yet see their only surviving sister and brother-in-law, McHenry and wife. These boys, thus rendered objects of sympathy, formed a link in the legends of the old Texians, and still reside on the La Vaca, much respected for their courage and moral deportment.

This closes the principal interesting incidents in the checkered career of the unpretending but true-hearted Captain John McHenry. He still lives in the vigor of health and social enjoyment on the La Vaca, where peace, warm hearts, and hospitality ever reign to welcome his old friends.

While this narrative has been necessarily long, embracing portions of different historical epochs and incidents, it is believed the people of the Southwest, and especially of Texas and Louisiana, will feel repaid for its perusal. It is a simple narration of facts.

Art. III.—AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS—THE MONROE DOCTRINE—INTERVENTION, &c.

The position of the Review has ever been distinctly defined from the period of the issue of the first number in January, 1846. Its pages have been open to the discussion of all the great questions before the country, in a spirit larger than that of mere partisanship. The advocates of free trade and of protection have been allowed to speak of State rights and of consolidations, of intervention and non-intervention, etc.; and even the opponents of slavery, when disposed to measure argument with its advocates, have in one or two instances been allowed a place. During all of this, no one has doubted, or could doubt, of the individual opinions of the editor, which he has preserved with little change, and which on proper occasions he has never failed to express.

The article which follows is from the pen of a distinguished citizen of South-Carolina. It was written in review of some of the articles of a magazine published for a few months at the North, believed to be from the pen of one of the most distinguished writers in that quarter, and one of the warmest and ablest advocates of the South and of her rights.

We have no opinions to express upon the subject of this article. It expresses its own opinions. It is not for us, but for our readers, to object or to approve.—
[EDITOR.]

THE editor of the "United States Review" very properly expresses his surprise at the continued popularity in this country of "Blackwood" and other British Journals, and that they are in greater number subscribed for, and more punctually paid, than any of our best journals. This he thinks the more remarkable,

as these works seize upon every occasion to abuse our country, and to misrepresent its situation and institutions. Many of these articles are supposed to be written by Americans, who are hired to traduce their own country. No one who reads the articles in the "Westminster," in relation to American affairs, or to American literature, can doubt for one moment that they are written by an American—and that, too, by an American full of local and sectional prejudices. To be convinced of this, it is only necessary to recur to the article on Mr. Webster. "Nay," says the reviewer, "it is now publicly known that an American writer has condescended to become a regular coadjutor of 'Blackwood's Magazine,' the periodical of all others most anti-American, and most offensive to an American citizen, who has any feeling for the honor of his country, or who nourishes the slightest sympathy for the character of his countrymen." And a well-known pretender to literature in New-York, whose name we need not mention, is, we believe, the person who in the "Westminster" deals out the honors and censures to American authors and to American genius! From this filthy source Europe is informed that there is not a writer, nor a book, nor a journal south of New-York, that deserves to be mentioned with such distinguished writers as Rufus Wilmot Griswold, or with such able Reviews as the "North American." Such men seldom "shrink from the disagreeable duty" (as the "Westminster" calls it) "of pointing out the blemishes and failings" of their own mother country.

Warned against such injustice, and particularly of these abuses and misrepresentations of their institutions, will Southern gentlemen still continue to subscribe to such British Reviews, while they neglect those at home, which are engaged, one-third of their time, in answering and refuting the slanders of the very British Journals that are so popular with us? We really trust that there will be a change soon, in this matter, or it will be too late. If we do not encourage our own press, we must go to the dogs, and deserve to go there.

"Thus it has happened (says our reviewer) that these productions of the British Press, which best administered to the feelings and interests of that government, by undermining democratic principles, and calumniating, caricaturing, or misrepresenting the people, have almost always been selected for republication in the United States by booksellers, who understand their business, in preference to all others. If an Englishman or Englishwoman puts forth a book of travels in the United States like that of Basil Hall, Mrs. Trollope, or Dickens, containing little else than the distillations of prejudice and ignorance, and filled with distortions of our manners, habits, and social state, our literary caterers absolutely wrangle for the

exclusive honor or profit of these publications, because experience has taught them, there is a great party in this country whose palate is peculiarly susceptible to such high-seasoned dishes. Hence these periodical paroxysms of philanthropy, these outbreaks of pretended sympathy for slaves, which are, in fact, nothing more than significant indications of their apprehensions of the consequences ultimately to result from the growth of the United States, and the irresistible energies of freemen. It is a *POLITICAL* feeling, not a genuine sentiment of humanity, that infuses such warmth and vigor into these reiterated and persevering attempts against the peace and union of the United States, under the hypocritical pretence of a deep interest in the freedom and happiness of the human race. There is an irreconcilable inconsistency in the course pursued by American and European abolitionists, which convicts them of rank hypocrisy."

The Review proceeds to say, "There is not a crowned head in Europe, from the Emperor of Russia down to the King of Naples, who does not, while pinioning his subjects, or those who are elsewhere struggling against oppression, to the earth with the bayonet, mourn over the destinies of the African race." The Review expresses its belief that the unparalleled popularity of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" was owing entirely to "the fact, that it was susceptible of being made a tool of the Abolitionists in one quarter, and in the other, a political instrument for undermining the influence of republican institutions"—and that had the inhabitants of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" been white slaves, and not black, we would have heard nothing of the genius of Mrs. Stowe.

Their jealousy or fear of the influence of our institutions is not to be inferred merely. It is openly confessed by "Blackwood." "As things are now turning," he expresses his fears that "the sympathies of the British people may not lead them to an over-estimate of American institutions." Hence his assault on, and misrepresentations of the South. In the last number of the "London Quarterly" (July, 1853), in an article on Signor Ruffini, in which European insurrections form the subject of discussion, the writer steps out of the way to give a blow to what he calls the true republican maxim; that not only does the end justify the means, but that vice and virtue change their nature in proportion as they advance or impede "the cause;" a name by which he says democracy is designated all the world over. This "cause," then, is no doubt the great source of offence to British philanthropists, and American philanthropy is a mere cat's-paw to the British. Otherwise, would that vulgar, ill-bred woman, Mrs. Stowe, have met with such a reception as she has received from the proud, upturned noses of the English aristocracy?

They have, no doubt, had their rooms since fumigated and cleansed, as in case of a visitation from the devil.

The reviewers, very properly, do not consider the African race as constituting a component element of our government. They can enjoy none of its functions, but are protected, as in the case of many other sojourners. Indeed, if we are to judge from the laws of various anti-slavery States, excluding free people of color from their borders, he would conclude that it was the universal opinion of all America. But while the free negro is driven away, the runaway negro is received with open arms. This is a *Stovecism* peculiar to the Greeley school. "That the slaves were not included in the Declaration of Independence," says the reviewer, "is certain, for it is impossible to conceive that the Southern delegates who gave it their sanction, would have signed an instrument which virtually divested them of their most valuable property. The subsequent debates in the Convention by which the Constitution of the United States was framed, also clearly and distinctly show, that whatever may be the words of that instrument, it was never intended by the delegates who signed it, to recognize the principles of equality between the European and African races."

The courts of Massachusetts, with Judge Shaw at their head, have enacted, not adjudicated, the similar decree of the British courts, that a slave becomes free so soon as he places his foot upon their soil, that, forsooth, has never been polluted by the footprints of a slave! As in the case of Somerset, the decree is based on a fiction, contradicted by previous precedents, and by all history. Hildreth, who, we understand, is the author of that infamous libel, "The White Slave," which, in part, is the authority on which "Blackwood" bases his slanderous attacks upon the South, and the institutions generally of this country, in his "History of the United States," acknowledges that by the "Fundamentals," or "Body of Liberties" of Massachusetts, "express sanction is given to the slave trade; and the practice of holding negroes and Indians in perpetual bondage, anticipated, by many years, anything of the sort to be found in the statutes of Virginia or Maryland." (1 vol. 278, 282.) It was not only authorized in 1650, both in Massachusetts and Connecticut, but "blood-hounds" were used to catch runaways. (372, 393.) By custom or by statute, slavery existed, as a fact, in every Anglo-American colony at the commencement of our revolutionary struggle, and is particularly recognized by the Legislature of Massachusetts. (3 Hildreth, 391.) Was universally considered as property by the English in 1662. (1 Hild., 518, 523.) New-York adopted the "Fundamentals" of Massachusetts, and fugitive servants were ordered to be caught and returned, and all servants taken up without a pass. (Ibid. 48.) In 1712, the Quakers of Pennsylvania refused to set their slaves free in their

Assembly, because "neither just nor convenient." (2 Hild., 419.) Yet knowing all this, this author is now an abolitionist, bitterly malignant towards the South, but who would, no doubt, rejoice in the possession of slaves, but for the very reason which he assigns for their abandonment in New-England: "The soil and climate of New-England made slaves of little value there, except as domestic servants." (2 vol. 419.) Adam Smith, before our revolution, said, Pennsylvania would never have given them up if they had been of any value there. "The first fugitive slave bill, of 1792, was drafted," (says the "Boston Post)," "by George Cabot, of Massachusetts, in November, and it was passed by the Senate on the 18th of January, unanimously, fourteen from free, and thirteen from slave States voting for it. The House Committee, Theodore Sedgwick and Sheerjushub Bourne, of Mass., and Alexander White, of Va., reported the bill to the body, by which it was passed, on the 5th of February, without discussion. Eight free States were represented by 31 votes, six slave States by 24 votes—free State majority 7. The bill received 48 yeas to 7 nays. Massachusetts gave 6 yeas to 1 nay. This record shows that the free States passed the first fugitive bill." In the last May number of the "North British," in the article on "Wellington in the Peninsula," we have it on British authority, that it was not uncommon to sentence soldiers, British soldiers, to *two thousand* lashes, and though "seven hundred were considered the maximum of endurance," we are told that two "*almost escaped*" for stealing sheep, who were sentenced to receive *twelve hundred* lashes each! We feel satisfied that no three men could be found in South Carolina who would be so brutal as to condemn a poor black slave to receive so cruel a punishment for any crime, much less for larceny.

There are many subjects which the Review has treated with similar ability to that displayed in the articles we have alluded to, but which our space will not allow us to allude to specifically. There are but two subjects touched upon where we cannot fully agree with the editor. The first is in relation to the Monroe doctrine, and the other to Political Economy. It seems rather Quixotic in the United States to say, *a priori*, that we have the right "to forbid the conquest or colonization of any part of Central America or Mexico by a monarchical government, for the purpose of establishing the rule of non-intervention, and the doctrine of State Rights, for the benefit of all the North American Republics." We confess ourselves, however unfashionable it may seem to some, staunch supporters of Washington's doctrine of non-intervention, and nothing yet has occurred to our mind that weakens the force and wisdom of his advice to avoid all entangling alliances or interferences with foreign powers. Intervention to prevent intervention seems a queer exception, indeed, and though it

Quakers of Pennsylvania refused to sell their slaves free in 1800

might very well suit the purposes of Mr. Kossuth, is scarcely reconcilable with American good sense. The Bulwer and Clayton Treaty has already furnished us with an example of the folly of attempting to vary from the rule.

There are but two circumstances, in our opinion, which could justify the United States in saying to any European power—"You shall neither conquer nor colonize any part of Mexico or Central America."

1st. The right of property in the soil.

2d. Or *imminent* peril threatened by such conquest or colonization.

It must also be that sort of *imminent* peril which endangers the existence, or very seriously affects the welfare of the State. Less causes will not justify or excuse, but such a degree of peril will authorize and justify interference in all such cases, no matter where they occur, whether upon the continent or upon some island, and such interference would be nowise at variance with the advice of Washington. We presume that it will scarcely be contended that we have the exclusive right to make conquests, or to poach on these grounds because of a continuity of land; for in that case the right would extend to all South America, and would exclude all islands, no matter how contiguous or commanding. We can readily conceive that a case might occur where the danger of conquests or colonization might be much more *imminent* and *eminent* to us than any colony or conquest that could be made of Central America or most part of Mexico.

If we do not mean conquests, and we know of no such design in the country, shall we, in any degree, serve State Rights, or constitutional, representative, democratic institutions, such as ours, by maintaining the present "*Republics*" of Mexico or Central America? The very idea is a farce: Napoleon's, Santa Anna's, Iturbide's, Carrera's democracy!!

But the Monroe doctrine! What right had Mr. Monroe to prescribe any new doctrine to the democratic party? Is he or any other man to be placed alongside of Washington, and to supersede his advice as to our foreign policy? If new principles are to be budded or grafted on our old stock of democratic principles, let the bud or graft be taken from some sounder stock than the Monroe administration. As with General Taylor, the country was then all "republicans, all federalists." That was the prevalent doctrine of that administration; and while it propagated more wild and extravagant notions of a splendid and magnificent government than any other republican administration, it so confounded the principles of the two parties, as to have rendered it since often difficult to say which held the restrictions of the Constitution or the rights of the States in least respect, the federalists or republicans, or since, the whigs or de-

mocrats. We need only refer to the reports of the Secretary of War and of the Treasury Department of that period for proofs of what we have said, wherein the most extravagant expenditures for internal improvements, fortifications, etc., etc., by the general government and the protective policy, are recommended as the policy of the administration. Need we refer to the most extraordinary consolidation speech of Mr. Calhoun, on his report and introduction of the United States Bank charter, giving a bonus of a million and a half to internal improvements, designed for the West! We do not, therefore, like to have precedents incautiously drawn from that period, any more than we should consent to have Jackson's Proclamation referred to as the text of democracy.

Much nonsense has been said of our manifest destiny. Every folly is to be covered by this manifest destiny. The thief thinks it his destiny when he picks your pocket or steals your horse. Others may think it his destiny to be hung. Our true destiny, we cannot doubt, is to do justice to others, and to see that justice is done to us. Our institutions suit us, and no foreign power has the right to interfere with them, or do anything that will endanger them; nor have we any right to interfere with the institutions of other people, or to attempt to force ours upon them, any more than they have to force theirs upon us. Propagandism is not the business of our sort of constitutional, representative democracy. Let us leave that to socialists, communists, abolitionists, and all other such mad men, and bad men; it is enough that we are satisfied with our system. We no more believe that it would suit all other people, than that it would answer for the government of a drove of hogs or mules. Let the emperors, czars and sultans, these political pig-drivers, alone. They have their flock, and their mission to fill, and we have ours. It is enough that we have opened our doors to every one who may choose to abandon the mule-drivers, and place themselves under the protection of our institutions. The contemptible figure which our country exhibited in the conduct of its leading executive officers, and even in the Congress of the United States, in the matter of that theatrical, melodramatic, political juggler, Kossuth, should satisfy us, as folly enough for one century.

This brings us to the last subject touched upon by the Review, about which we shall make any remarks. We mean the unmeasured and unjust onslaught made upon political economy, in the two articles on "British Political Economy" in the February and March numbers, and on "Political Economy" in the last June number. We cannot conceive how a science, or a doctrine, if you prefer so to call it, that has done so much for the human race, by removing unjust and foolish legislation, could have excited the contempt or dislike of intelligent and liberal

persons, such as the editor of the United States Review has proved himself to be on all other subjects discussed.

"Men fancy," says the Review, "themselves competent to govern great nations, because they have learned from Political Economy those simple and obvious truths, which before the advent of that so-called science, were never thought necessary to be embodied in books, because they were already sufficiently obvious to the common sense and experience of mankind." Now we think we have seen many men who fancied themselves competent to govern nations, who never knew one word of Political Economy, and very little of anything else. These intuitive geniuses are generally those who possess this prurient fancy. Dr. Lieber has very well said, "if political economy is not science, it is knowledge." And although its great "truths appear simple and obvious," it is far from being true, that before its advent, these simple truths "were already sufficiently obvious to the common sense and experience of mankind;" for, until it had embodied these simple truths in books, pamphlets and journals, and repeated them over and over, they were never brought to the consideration of the common sense of any people, or made a popular question, until the dispute arose in 1830, which commenced in 1828, between South Carolina and the general government. At that time, with all his good common sense, General Jackson thought protection good for us all. We speak from personal knowledge. Soon after this, Mr. Cobden, traveling in the United States, is said to have had his attention excited on this subject, and that led to the Corn Law League. Free Trade was first taught and impressed upon the minds of the people of South Carolina by Dr. Thomas Cooper and the late Mr. Stephen Elliott. They gave the first impetus to the popular move, and this was because they had paid particular attention to the study of Political Economy. So, as to the distinguished services of Mr. Lee, of Boston, in the cause of Free Trade, when that cause was odious, we were no doubt as much indebted to his studies on this subject as to his common sense.

What were these simple truths, that should have been so obvious, but which nearly required a revolution or a civil war in the United States, and afterwards in Great Britain, before they could be seen or acknowledged by the rulers of the earth, with all that "experience and common sense" so much relied upon by the reviewer? So far from "furnishing governments (as the reviewer most surprisingly asserts) with plausible pretexts for meddling with the proper business of individuals, directing their private pursuits, interfering with their labor, and enabling them adroitly to get as much of its fruits as possible," Political Economy, on the contrary, and strange enough, first saw and taught the wisdom of the rule *laissez faire*, by which cognomen

the free trade doctrines of political economists are now known. From the time of Adam Smith, the founder of the present orthodox school of Political Economy, to the present day, its leading authors have unanimously protested, again and again, against the mischievous meddling of government in the business of individuals, or interfering with their labor, adjusting their profits, or adroitly bestowing the fruits of one to the profits of another class. Whose arguments exploded the protective system, a system maintained by the common sense and experience of many centuries? Did common sense or political economy first teach the doctrine of free trade? Which "seduced governments into fostering one branch of industry in preference to another?" If common sense first discovered the true light, she was very prudent in suppressing her knowledge, and her unpopular opinions, and did precious little for the advancement of truth and justice, though they stood before her for so long a time, clothed in such simple and obvious weeds. We repeat—Political Economy has exploded the Protective System; exploded irredeemable paper moneys; removed the navigation laws; exploded those bugbears—the balance of trade, the drain of specie, national independence of your shoemaker; weakened monopolies, and repealed the Corn Laws.

Has not Political Economy been arguing for years with common sense, to prove that that "labor which brings in no profit is unproductive," and that it should not be favored at the expense of others? Has it not labored with the same opponent, assisted by self-interest, to prove "that the foundation of all barter is mutual profit or convenience;" and that as a man's "own labor is the source of his private means, so the combined labor of a whole people constitutes the wealth of a nation?" It may be very true that "the honest laborer, plodding in his daily round, little dreams that he is working out problems for political economists, and laying the foundation of an abstruse science;" and yet we know that these daily ploddings are the sources of all knowledge, and often form the basis of that science, which, while it alleviates the condition and elevates the fortunes of mankind, shows the vast superiority of the scientific man in the use of these daily ploddings, over him that is so boastful of, or so much boasted for, his experience and common sense. Men often forget that science is but the superior use of common sense and experience. Every ass considers his knowledge as the peculiar essence of common sense and the fruits of experience. We can scarcely believe our reviewer to have been in earnest, when he ridicules Political Economy for seeking facts, and using statistics in favor of her arguments. And the "numbering of horses, sheep, cows, oxen and donkeys" is considered as an instance where political economy improperly

"meddles with every man's business." This is really fooling, unbecoming the character of the work. We should have been glad if the editor had informed us which governments they were, to which he alludes, that had suffered under the fostering influence of this science, or that government where "the people have always been the worse off the more the great dogmas of this science are brought to bear on them."

By the influence of this science, we have already said that the Corn Laws of Great Britain have been repealed, her navigation laws removed, the system of reciprocity introduced, and we trust to be greatly extended. By the influence of this science, governments have been taught the advantage of free exchange, of the benefit of low duties both to revenue and to the prosperity of the country, and of the great advantage of competition and division of labor in all the affairs of life. It has taught that government should only exact from the pockets of the people what is necessary to its proper and economical administration, and to their safety. It has taught the injustice of class legislation. This is really the first time that we have ever seen it suggested that to Political Economy is due "the cumbrous, unwieldy, complicated machine, laden with all sorts of legislative trumpery, rolling along like the car of Juggernaut, and crushing every body in its way," called the British Government.

But that paper money is the "legitimate progeny" of Political Economy, is an assertion only to be equalled by that of Mr. Clay in one of his speeches, wherein he declares that Free Trade and the British Colonial System were exactly the same thing! Surely our friend, the editor, has read Adam Smith, Say, Ricardo, Storck, Bastiat, and all others most distinguished as writers on Political Economy. How, then, could he be so unjust towards a set of writers who have done much for the advancement of the human race? Can it be that the reading of our friend on this subject has been unfortunately confined to the works of Henry Carey, who, while a professed free trader, is the most indefatigable advocate of protection in the United States, and whose extraordinary inconsistencies and false deductions, while they mortify and disappoint his friends here, are the wonder and confusion of his foreign admirers (see *Dictionnaire de L'Economie Politique*, V.—H. Carey); and who, among other things, has discovered that wonderful theory that is to settle all the unsettled points of Political Economy—the theory that in the pursuit of wealth, the producer and consumer must hunt in couples, like hounds in a chase? Or, has the writer found the "roundabout, rigmarole obscurities" from that distinguished source, "The Public Economy of the United States,"

by Calvin Colton, of that branch of the school of political economy known as "Asinine?"

The reviewer, however, has pointed out one source of offence on the part of Political Economy and of political economists. McCulloch, in his account of the British Empire, in his Geographical Dictionary, has, like all loyal Englishmen, made rather light of the burden of their heavy taxes, and has said, by way of apology for them, that its pressure was not to be estimated by the actual amount of the sum taken from the people and lodged in the coffers of the treasury, but, by the mode in which taxes are imposed, and the ability of the people to pay them; and that, instead of supposing that the influence of taxation in Great Britain had been hostile to the increase of public opulence and private comfort, he inclined to think it had a precisely opposite effect. But Mr. McCulloch goes on to say, that oppressive taxes would have had an opposite effect, and, instead of producing new displays of industry and economy, would have produced only despair and national impoverishment. The increased taxation, he supposed, had been met with increased exertion and economy, which in fact led to the production of a far greater amount of wealth than was required to meet the increased demands of the revenue collectors. Now, in this there might have been a little boasting of John Bull; but Political Economy has no more to answer for it than it has to answer for Adam Smith's apology for the navigation laws. It is enough that Political Economy has, from its very origin, denounced the evil of high taxes, direct or indirect, as it has also denounced the navigation laws, and all other restrictive measures. And even this Mr. McCulloch, who has unfortunately drawn upon Political Economy the denunciations and ridicule of the reviewer, has in the very page, and in the remarks referred to, stated the great evil of oppressive taxation; besides, on the specific subject of taxation, he has written the best work we have, and one which should be in the hands of every statesman, to show him how, while he collects sufficient revenue for the real necessities of government, he should inflict the least possible evil on the people. Neither Mr. McCulloch nor any other respectable writer on Political Economy has ever considered taxation a blessing. "Taxation no tyranny," has been the Tory protectionist's doctrine from the days of Dr. Johnson to the present time. Mr. McCulloch has informed us himself (Com. Dict. v., Nav. Laws) that it was not to the navigation laws, but to the abuse of the funding system and the excess of taxation, that the decline of the commercial greatness and maritime power of Holland was really owing.

To conclude, we have been so much pleased with the political

and moral articles in the United States Review, that we really felt regret when we read these assaults upon our favorite study; and we should be sorry if the pleasure of reading the Review should again be impaired by similar unjust and unwise reflections upon a branch of knowledge so akin to true democracy, and which, when properly understood, should give offence to no one but the grasping monopolist, who would fatten upon the plunder of his fellow-citizens, and who feels his hold weakened by the arguments of this science. We freely give up Mr. Carey and the Rev. Mr. Colton to the vengeance of the reviewer, and he may take Mr. Frederick List along with them; but we beseech him to respect that science which has taught us the benefits of free trade, and the mischievous injustice of government meddling with the private affairs of its citizens. Should our advice be contemned, and the course of the Review continued on this subject, we shall expect next to see the "American System" attributed to Political Economy.

Art. IV.—THE PLAGUE IN THE SOUTH-WEST.

THE GREAT YELLOW FEVER EPIDEMIC IN 1853.

FRIGHTFUL SCENES IN NEW-ORLEANS—PROGRESS OF THE EPIDEMIC IN THE CITY AND THROUGHOUT THE INTERIOR TOWNS—STATISTICS OF DEATHS—THE HOWARD SOCIETY—THE CHARITY HOSPITAL, ETC., ETC.

[This paper will not be too long to be read with deep interest everywhere. There was a similar one prepared in 1833 by Dr. Halphen, giving an account of the cholera epidemic in New-Orleans, which destroyed one-sixth of the population.]

Thus far the present year, while it has been one of great general prosperity, has also been one, in the history of our country, of unprecedented calamity. Frightful steamboat disasters disfigure the records of the first months;* these are followed by the most awful railroad accidents, in rapid succession; and lastly, the great Southern metropolis of our country is invaded by one of the most destructive epidemics that has ever visited the shores of the New World. This awful visitation, whose energies are still (1st November) vigorously in operation

* We may also add disasters at sea along our coasts. An abstract made from the marine records of the Boston papers for a period of eighteen months, shows the great extent of loss of life and property by shipwreck:

Total losses, 579 ships, 108 barks, 144 brigs, 327 schooners. Never heard from, 59 ships, 5 barks, 14 brigs, 40 schooners. Put into port in distress, 333 ships, 106 barks, 96 brigs, 136 schooners. Wrecks passed, 102 ships, 18 barks, 26 brigs, 58 schooners. Of the total losses, there were stranded, 379; abandoned, 173; burned, 17. There is a total loss for the given period every 22 hours; one stranded every 33 hours; one abandoned every 75 hours; one never heard from every 10 days. This latter implies a serious loss of life, as do more or less those abandoned; and some of them were doubtless caused by the unseaworthy condition they were in when they left port.

on our southern borders, decimating the population whenever it appears, forms a new era in the medical history of this country. That the pages of this Review may serve for future reference in regard to the great Yellow Fever Epidemic of 1853, we propose to collect and digest, in as elaborate a form as our limits will admit, all of the principal facts and events regarding it that have fallen under our notice.

Having been almost a constant resident of New-Orleans since the spring of 1842, and having seen the frightful ravages of the yellow fever during the epidemic of 1847, when we ourselves were prostrated by it, we write upon a subject with which we have had some practical acquaintance. From our own observations—which are also confirmed by those of others—we venture the opinion that the yellow fever is a disease that makes its appearance in New-Orleans *annually*, and that there has not been a summer, during the last ten years, in which that dreadful disease has not visited that city. Indeed, Dr. J. C. Simonds, long a resident of New-Orleans, and one of the ablest physicians of that city, has given the yellow fever statistics of the Charity Hospital, published by Dr. E. D. Fenner, in the first volume of his *Southern Medical Reports*, from which it appears that the yellow fever has made its appearance in New-Orleans every year from 1822 to 1849 inclusive. Many have attempted to show, that yellow fever is only a disease of occasional occurrence in New-Orleans. For the benefit of those who entertain this opinion, we give the following table of Dr. Simonds, whose figures are derived from the annual reports of the books of the Charity Hospital, and from the journals of the Legislature of Louisiana :

TABLE SHOWING THE NUMBER OF CASES OF YELLOW FEVER, AND DEATHS FROM THAT DISEASE, IN THE CHARITY HOSPITAL OF NEW-ORLEANS, FROM 1822 TO 1849 INCLUSIVE :

Year.	Total Cases.	Deaths.	Year.	Total Cases.	Deaths.
1822†.....	337.....	239.....	1836.....	6.....	5
1823.....	1.....	1.....	1837†.....	998.....	442
1824.....	167.....	108.....	1838.....	22.....	417
1825.....	99.....	49.....	1839†.....	1,086.....	452
1826.....	24.....	5.....	1840.....	3.....	3
1827.....	372.....	109.....	1841†.....	1,114.....	594
1828.....	290.....	130.....	1842†.....	425.....	211
1829.....	436.....	215.....	1843†.....	1,086.....	487
1830.....	256.....	117.....	1844†.....	169.....	83
1831.....	3.....	2.....	1845.....	1.....	—
1832†.....	26.....	18.....	1846.....	146.....	96
1833†.....	422.....	210.....	1847†.....	2,479.....	895
1834†.....	150.....	95.....	1848†.....	1,226.....	420
1835†.....	503.....	284.....	1849.....	1,055.....	545
Total.....	3,087	2,082		9,826	4,250
				3,087	2,082
Total from 1822 to 1849.....				12,913	6,332

The above table, it must be recollected, is only for the Charity Hospital. How many died of yellow fever out of the hospital, it would

The years marked (†) were those in which the yellow fever was epidemic.

be impossible to say; but the number was probably considerable. In epidemic years the number of yellow fever cases in the hospital is very small, compared to the whole in the city.* We continue the above table, bringing it down to the present date:—

Total Cases.	Deaths.	Total Cases.	Deaths.
1850.....	107.....	1852.....	289†
1851.....	1.....	1853.....	

The returns for 1850, 1851 and 1852, are incomplete; we give them as far as our statistics will admit. We have thus established that the yellow fever is an annual visitor of New-Orleans. That it originates there we are fully of the opinion, no instance of its having ever been imported being as yet well proved. If it is imported, it must be imported every year. A writer in the *New-Orleans Commercial Bulletin*, of August 23d, 1853, attempts to show that the disease was imported. He says:—

On the arrival of the bark *Mary H. Kimball* at this port, a few days previous to the breaking out of the yellow fever, from Rio Janeiro, via Jamaica, having sprung aleak, and put in for repairs, I called on board to inquire about a part of the cargo. She was loaded with coffee, etc. I saw the captain who had just recovered from a spell of sickness. On inquiry, I found he had been laid up with the yellow fever. His wife, daughter and niece had all died with the same disease at Jamaica. He also informed me that he had lost by the yellow fever, at Rio and since that, from on board his vessel, twenty-eight persons in all. The bark landed opposite the Triangle Buildings, and discharged her cargo. The yellow fever commenced in that vicinity."

We consider this as hardly worthy of notice; first, because the writer is anonymous; second, he does not state when the vessel arrived, nor does he give the name of the captain; third, we have examined the arrivals at New-Orleans for May, June, July and August, and do not find any such vessel published; fourth, we find published in New-Orleans papers of the 14th of May, the arrival of the "bark *A. H. Kimball*, Draper, 12 days from *Philadelphia*, to master, first district." We presume the writer wrote from hearsay, and confounded this vessel with one from Brazil.

But, it cannot be possible that this or any other vessel brought the disease to New-Orleans, from either Brazil or Jamaica, unless such vessel arrived before the 6th of May, for it is asserted positively, by Dr. M. M. Dowler, an eminent physician of New-Orleans, and one of the oldest of that city, that two fatal cases of yellow fever had occurred as early as the 6th of May. From this date we shall attempt to trace the history of this last appalling visitation of the yellow fever, drawing our facts and incidents chiefly from the New-Orleans journals, believing that the statements recorded by them, there on the spot, are quite as reliable as any accounts of this great epidemic that can be found, if not more so. It is due to the public to say, that while the

* For the last nine weeks of the year.

† In 1850 the Board of Health reported 107 cases of yellow fever; while the number in the Charity Hospital was only 9.—*Fenner's Report*, vol. 2, 1850, pp. 67. 80.

New-Orleans journals are edited with as much ability as any in the Union; they are always very shy about making publications regarding the existence of yellow fever in that city. It is not until the very last moment, when there is a general outburst of alarm, and when deaths from yellow fever are staring them full in the face, that they are disposed to publish any thing on the subject. It is often the case, indeed, as we observed for many years, that the first tidings of yellow fever being in New-Orleans, come back to the city through the medium of the country papers; nor has this year proved an exception to this remark. New-Orleans being an entirely commercial city, the love of money and self-interest prevail there as much as in other commercial communities; and it is a standing maxim in the commercial world, that nothing must be said that might injure trade. Hence it is that the yellow fever has often prevailed in New-Orleans to an alarming extent, before the journals were willing to admit that there was any cause for alarm.

The first public report of yellow fever this year, in New-Orleans, was that of the Board of Health, for the week ending the 28th of May, one death having occurred during the week. Still, the journals maintained the most profound silence on the subject; the interests of trade, we presume, requiring it. On the 18th of June the Board of Health reported seven deaths from yellow fever during the past week, and cases every week since the 28th of May. The people began to be alarmed, but the journals were silent. On the 23d of June the *Picayune* contained the following:

THE YELLOW FEVER ALARM.

This note is from a person who can be relied on as good authority.

Messrs. Editors :—Madam Rumor has given rise to the fancied existence of yellow fever in this city to a very great extent. It is admitted that it has occurred in the city to the enormous extent of about four cases, a thing not unusual in any year past. But that it exists in a form or to an extent to produce alarm, except amongst old women, is most positively denied by all the most eminent physicians in the city. For a long time past there have been weekly reports of the number of deaths published under the sanction of a *Board of Health*. Will the proper officers please inform the public who compose the "Board of Health?" Does such a body exist? Perhaps his Honor the Mayor can throw some light upon this subject. Unfortunately, much alarm has been produced by the unauthorized report of the "Board of Health," and many of our citizens have been induced to leave the city sooner than convenient, in order to avoid a danger which does not exist.

OBSERVER.

This is in the usual tone of such notices, which appear annually at New-Orleans, when alarm begins to exist, and the people begin to fly from the city.

On the 25th of June the Board of Health reported nine deaths from yellow fever during the past week; the journals still remaining silent on the subject, being for the most part absorbed in the discussion of the great negro insurrection plot, that was then just discovered, and in the still greater humbug, the monster steam balloon of M. Petin, who announced that he would positively make an ascension on the 5th of

June. The affair was a perfect failure, and M. Petin has not been heard of since. On the second of July the Board of Health reported twenty-five deaths from yellow fever during the past week, and still the journals were silent. Occasional notices began now to appear in the journals, regarding the heavy rains and the filthy condition of the streets. The gutters were exhaling their "filthy compounds of abominable smells," as if to provoke a paragraph in the papers, and the journalists were praying that the rains might spare their olfactories from such odors.

"Could we only calculate upon as much rain once or twice every week of the summer," says the *Delta*, we "might hope to be spared those pests which, if they are not regarded, are certainly to a greater or lesser extent fostered by the foul and nauseous steams arising from our street gutters, and other depositories of decayed animal and vegetable matter."

How little did they think what was coming The rains were abundant, flooding, but they did not spare them.

The Board of Health continued their labors, on the 9th of July reporting fifty-nine deaths from yellow fever during the past week; and the journals began to manifest some alarm. The *Crescent*, always slow to move on the subject, makes the following bitter complaint:

"For quite a number of days, if not weeks past, we have been greeted with every possible indication of a sickly season—fostered, if not directly produced, by the negligence, ignorance and laziness of the present city officials. The streets have looked and smelt epidemical for a fortnight, and carrion and carcasses and festering nastiness of every description has been allowed to remain undisturbed and constantly to augment. But the Lord, not willing that we should suffer through the folly of such a set of dunderheads as are over us—even though they were selected by ourselves—yesterday afternoon sent a rain that overflowed the gutters, inundated the streets, and for a time made the highways almost navigable. The nuisances are once more removed, and we are left devoutly thankful for this Providential interference."

The most bitter complaints were made regarding the filthiness of the streets; and contractors for cleaning them were arraigned and heavily fined for the non-performance of their duty.* On the 8th of July the *Crescent* publishes the report of the Board of Health for the 2d, but without comment. The other journals did not notice it. On the same day the *Delta* gives the report of the Charity Hospital, from which it appeared that of sixty-two deaths during the week, about one half were from yellow fever.

The weather at this time, in New-Orleans, was extraordinary. The *N. O. Commercial Bulletin* thus notices it:

"The weather is the strangest ever known in this city, we are firmly convinced. It is regular April weather, almost in the middle of July! Sunshine and showers divide the day, from sunrise to sunset. Such unnatural weather as this cannot be healthy. We would advise our readers to be very careful of themselves. In fact, too much care cannot be exercised. By all means avoid the hot, piercing rays of the sun as much as possible, and be prudent and moderate in diet and all things else. We would say, keep cool, were such a thing possible."

During the epidemic in New-Orleans, a most strange and absurd theory was advanced by an intelligent member of the medical profes-

* *Delta*, of July 7th.

sion, Dr. H. McFarlane, who, as it would seem, was supported by many others. It deserves notice as a curiosity in the history of medicine, and as one of the remarkable inventions to which the epidemic of 1853 gave rise. It was this: That filth of every description, no matter how putrid and offensive, could neither create nor aggravate fever of any description; but, on the contrary, that it was absolutely a retard, of yellow fever, rather than a creator of it.* Like every absurd theory or creed, this one found supporters, especially in New-Orleans, where filth is so common, and so offensive. Theory suited admirably the city authorities, as it enabled them to excuse, "on theory," their gross neglect of all those sanitary regulations and provisions which reason and common sense so clearly indicate. It was ridiculed throughout the world, out of New-Orleans, and its originator pronounced to be either a fool who deserved pity, or a knave who deserved the severest punishment. On the subject of this ridiculous theory, so contrary to all facts, and so murderous in its consequences, the *New-Orleans Commercial Bulletin*, of the 12th of July, 1853, one of the ablest journals of that city, contained a well-written editorial article, which so well exposes the sanitary views of the authorities of New-Orleans, that we copy it entire, to serve as a reference for some future writer of the medical history of New-Orleans. The *Bulletin* says:

"We have never before the present time, or in any other place than this, heard the theory seriously broached, that sanitary regulations were superfluous and unnecessary auxiliaries to health. To a plain common-sense man, one who has been well bred, and used to cleanly habits, it must seem strange that there are intelligent, decent people, who stoutly maintain that dirt and filth, garbage and offal, have no effect either in creating or aggravating disease. We know that there are eccentric people of this way of thinking among us; and the worst of it is, that they are those who, possessing for the nonce place and power, and supported by interested and devoted adherents, by obstinately adhering to their crude, preconceived opinions, are able to do a power of mischief. The accumulation of filth and putrescent matter in our streets, we are told, is in no wise prejudicial to health; nay more, we are positively assured, that dirty streets are the most healthful localities; and we have been informed by those whose authority it would be scandalous to question, that in the history of the epidemics of past years, the most filthy streets were the most exempt from disease. We have no doubt that the authorities of Constantinople, Smyrna, Beyrout, and

* In a letter addressed to A. D. Crossman, Mayor of the City of New-Orleans, by Dr. McFarlane, through the columns of the *Daily Delta* of the 29th of July, he announces his strange theory as follows:

"A vast number of physicians, falling into the popular current of opinion, have adopted the belief that filth and offal accumulating in our city are the causes of yellow fever.

"Now, sir, permit me, with all becoming modesty, to say that I do not believe one word of this. That so far from believing that the filth, offal and impurities around and about us have anything to do with the formation of what physicians designate an epidemic constitution of the atmosphere, I believe that these very impurities, (for the removal of which the present Board of Health has been principally instituted, and which a few extra scavenger carts would do quite as well, and certainly much to our pecuniary advantage;) I say, sir, that so far from believing that the filth and impurities in our streets, yards and suburbs, have anything to do with the creation of a yellow fever atmosphere, I believe that, to a certain extent, they are calculated to retard its formation."

the miserably filthy cities of the East generally, entertain the very same theory; but as those cities are densely populated, an annual decimation of their inhabitants may be a public benefit.

There is a peculiar and significant sensitiveness manifested in certain quarters whenever any allusion is made to the condition of our streets; and why, we cannot comprehend. In all populous cities in Europe, as well as in this country, as the summer and autumnal months are approaching, the hygienic condition of the public is a matter of special consideration. We notice at the advent of summer in our Southern Atlantic cities, the appointment by the local authorities, of Boards of Health, and specific directions given to the inhabitants for the management of their yards and premises. In the large northern cities extra appropriations are made, and additional care and attention given, as summer advances, to the preservation of health. In Europe, the sanitary condition of cities and towns is a subject of primary importance. In France, it precedes all other questions of public policy—employing the talent and skill of their most eminent savans. In England, the attention of Parliament is constantly and unremittingly directed to this great feature in municipal government; and an effective and organized system of street cleansing is, with the National Legislature, the object of cardinal consideration. We have now a report before us from the General Board of Health; and that the value of its opinion may be duly appreciated, we would state, that the members of this Board are appointed directly by the Government, for their professional qualifications and experience. They are medical men who have seen service in Egypt, the Levant ports, Gibraltar, South America, and the West India colonies, where tropical diseases are most prevalent. This Board, in their report to Parliament, submit, as a universally received postulate—that no refuse or vegetable matter, whether solid or fluid, should be allowed to remain beneath or within habitations, or upon or about the surface near habitations, sufficiently long to undergo the process of decomposition. They further say, that experience has amply shown that a large part of the low health and the sickness of the towns is occasioned by delay in the removal of such refuse by regular and efficient cleansing.

If these views and principles are recognized to be correct and tenable in every other part of the world, why do they not apply in this meridian, where we are periodically subject to diseases of malignant type? Upon what precedent, authority, principle of reasoning, or common sense, will men, who fortuitously are so situated that weight is given to their opinions, dare to promulge a doctrine so abhorrent to common understanding, so odious and repulsive to every human instinct, that dirty streets, and the noxious effluvia emanating from the accumulation of refuse matter, are not detrimental to health. We venture to say, that in no other civilized city in the world, has such an absurd and outrageous theory even been advanced to justify or extenuate municipal dereliction.

But, in reply to these strictures, we will be told, as we have been, that we are mistaken in our premises; that our streets are not dirty; that New-Orleans is at this moment the cleanest city in the Union. This is adding insult to injury. The frequent showers we have lately experienced, have in a degree removed the surface filth; had it not been for this *outside* assistance, our condition would be deplorable indeed. But we say, and we make the statement from extended and purposed observation, and challenge contradiction, that the streets, alleys, premises and yards of this city and its habitations, are most outrageously filthy; and if, as some contend, this condition of things is conducive to health, it is at least offensive to sight and smell, and anything else but comfortable and agreeable. If our statement is controverted, we will not point to the localities in the neighborhood of St. Mary's Market, the Water Works, and the back streets generally, as examples—

but we will direct the attention of the authorities to the condition of a short street in the most populous part of the city, running to the river, and not three hundred yards from it. We will summon to the stand the occupants of every tenement in Lafayette street, and particularly in that part of the street between Levee and Commerce streets, and ask them for their experience during the last week. The gutters on both sides of this thoroughfare have presented a dense mass of fœtid matter, exhaling a stench almost intolerable; and, as if the usual and habitual accumulations were not sufficient, the contents of a privy were emptied in one of the gutters a day or two ago, and so inured were the denizens of the streets to villanous smells, that the outrage was considered hardly worthy of notice.

The City Council meets to-night. Will they defer such trivial and ephemeral matters as the salaries of officers, questions of order, and laying out and paving new streets, to the great and all-important consideration of Health! This, and this alone, at this time, if they are true and honest public servants, and faithful to their trusts, should occupy their attention. The course they have been pursuing with their delinquent subordinates, is stupidly absurd. Instead of fining their contractors, which is no remedy for a crying evil, they should hurl them out of office. Summary execution should follow conviction.

New-Orleans has been exempt from disease since 1847; it can continue so, if those to whom the municipal government is entrusted do their duty. Upon them repose the responsibility, and a great responsibility it is. The public will hold them to it, and require from them a strict accountability."

It may be said, that the city authorities being democratic, for the most part, and the Bulletin a whig journal, the representations of the latter should be received with some allowance; but we have too much reason to believe that the Bulletin has not at all misrepresented the case. So far as regards the filthiness of the city, we can say from personal observation, as late as the 26th of May, that its statements are strictly true. As these statements regarding the filth of the city have been questioned, we shall cite another journal, the *Orleanian*. It says:

"We cannot with any show of justice, overlook the neglect, or fail to condemn the apathy that prevails amongst the salaried servants of the public—the Deputy Street Commissioners and contractors. Who can point out an instance of filthy yards or pestiferous back premises having been scrutinized by the corporate employees? Nay, there are some dwellings in the Third District, and putrid holes adjoining, which reek with the vilest odors, and taint the very atmosphere—every breeze from which is laden with miasma, with sickness and death. Talk of the foul condition of the streets, and reprobate the parties who are paid for their amelioration! Why, they are not a tithe as dangerous or deleterious as the private receptacles to which we allude, where cleanliness is scarcely heeded, and many, very many, wallow, almost literally, as hogs, and in the mire. Then, their immediate dwellings are kept so filthy, and in their persons and garb they are so remiss, that we are only astonished that each dwelling has not its patient, and that yellow fever is not generally an epidemic.

"In the other districts, there is room, no doubt, for similar complaints, and grounds for well-founded censure. What matters it if a family are cautious and circumspect—are neat and orderly, in all that appertains to their premises, or domestic duties, if adjoining them, or in their direct vicinity, resides an indolent and disorderly horde, who forget the principal and absolutely required uses to which water should be applied in a climate such as ours, and go unwashed for days, their raiment like stable ordure, actually giving forth smoke, or steam—while around them, in their feculent shanties, all is disor-

der, and every article, poor though it may be, disgustingly dirty. To guard against evils such as these, regular examinations should be made, not merely of yards and noisome outhouses, but of crowded rooms and back kitchens, and reeking hovels; which positions engender more certain disease, than undrained swamps or uncleaned thoroughfares. Yet, maugre this fact, who, at any time, witnesses the visitations of commissioner or deputies, to the places glanced at, and which require zealous watchfulness?"

This was written on the 13th of July, at which time the same journal is the first to acknowledge, though reluctantly, the extensive prevalence of yellow fever in the city.

"There is no disguising it, says the *Orleanian*, nor endeavoring longer to keep secret the advent of our olden enemy—the saffron-visaged gentleman, ycelpt "Yellow Jack!" He is among us, and performing his work vigorously. The unacclimated are being rapidly stricken down, and will continue to be, as long as the present disagreeable, and, without question, unhealthy weather continues. Many of them court his approach by their careless habits and imprudent conduct—and, unfortunately for themselves, when seized with the primal symptoms of yellow fever, imagine that they have contracted slight colds, which time will eradicate, and to remove which, there is no occasion for medicine or the calling in of the leech. If the disease increases, probably they may have recourse to purgatives but naught more, and when it has made good its entry into the very marrow of their bones, and to dislodge it is impracticable, a physician is summoned; but it is too late!"

In the same article, the editor endeavors to palliate as much as possible.

"This is what is generally phrased," says he, "the commencement of the sickly season of the year, yet we know of no prevalent diseases, nor do epidemics exist among us. The deaths are fewer in number than in any other city of similar population, in the Union. That there may be—that there are, occasional cases of yellow fever occurring, we make no question—it would be almost miraculous if there were not—as many persons, new to our climate, linger here through the summer, or arrive in our port almost daily. They are generally too, of the poorer or working class, whose employments necessarily compel them to labor in the sun, and be exposed to its scorching rays. Again, they are less cautious and careful of themselves, than are those habituated to our summers, while they drink of cheap-priced and poisonously adulterated liquors, with a freedom and frequency which would startle a Father Mathewite. Is it to be wondered at, that several of these reckless and indifferent individuals are stricken down with disease, and conveyed to our vast hospital? No! the wonder would be if they were not!"

Two days after this attempt to ignore the existence of any "prevalent diseases" in the city, the Board of Health reported 204 deaths from yellow fever for the week ending July 16th! All the other city papers, so far as we have been able to examine them, maintained the most profound silence on the subject. The alarm, however, was general, and the citizens were rushing from the city by thousands. Those who could not get away complained bitterly of the apathy of the Common Council, regarding the filthy state of the city, and communications on the subject were refused publication by some of the journals. The *Bee* even expressed some doubts whether filth had anything to do with the prevailing sickness.*

* Daily Delta, July 13.

The time had now arrived for action on the part of that noble institution, the *Howard Association*. On the morning of the 13th of July, there appeared in the papers the following notice:

"HOWARD ASSOCIATION.

"A special meeting of the members of the above Association will take place on Thursday evening next, at 7 o'clock, at the office of the undersigned.

"Punctual attendance of every member is requested, as business of importance will be brought before the association. D. I. RICARDO, Sec'y."

The meeting took place pursuant to notice, on the 14th. The following is an extract from the proceedings of the meeting, as published in the *Picayune* of the 15th. The other papers did not publish it until some days afterwards:

"Whereas, it has come to the knowledge of this Association that there is now prevailing an extraordinary amount of sickness, for this season of the year, particularly among the poorer classes of our community;

"And whereas, there does not now exist a Board of Health whose special duty, under present circumstances, would be (we believe) to advise the inhabitants of this city of the necessity of applying promptly for medical aid, as soon as they feel indisposed;

"And whereas, the members of this Association, in the discharge of their duties, have found that in a majority of the cases taken in hand by them, the patients had been suffering from the ordinary febrile symptoms, such as headache, pains in the back, nausea, extreme lassitude, etc., sometimes for two or three days, without medical aid, medicines, or proper nursing, thereby improperly jeopardizing their chances of recovery—

"It is hereby Resolved, That this Association do now regularly organize, as has been its practice, whenever an unusual amount of sickness of any kind has prevailed in this city.

"And be it further Resolved, That the Secretary be directed to give notice in the public prints, in the manner heretofore generally adopted by this body, that all sick persons in indigent circumstances, will be taken charge of by the Association, on application to either the directors or members.

"And be it further Resolved, That this Association, after due consultation with a number of the Medical Faculty of this city, recommends to the community at large not to neglect the ordinary domestic remedies, such as mustard foot-baths, warm drinks, etc., as soon as they shall feel out of their ordinary state of health, or suffer from those pains which are common to all fevers.

"And be it further Resolved, That this Association, through their Secretary, do petition the Common Council, either to designate Druggists and Apothecaries, by whom all orders signed by any of the directors or members of this Association, or by any Physician practicing in behalf of the same, shall be executed at the expense of the city, or to allow the Association to select their own Apothecaries, their bills to be paid out of the city treasury, as has been the custom heretofore under similar emergencies,

"And be it further Resolved, That the foregoing preamble and resolutions be published in the daily papers.

"D. I. RICARDO,

"Secretary Howard Association."

In accordance with their 4th resolution, the Association immediately petitioned the Common Council for assistance in relieving the sick, but at first received but little encouragement. This did not dishearten the members of the Association. They resolved to go on with their work of love and mercy, and accordingly the following Relief Mem-

bers were appointed. Their names should be written in letters of gold:

"V. BOULLEMET, President, 12 Dryades and 6 Magazine streets; G. W. SHAW, First Vice President, Camp, opposite Asylum, and 38 Poydras street; C. H. NOBLES, Second Vice President, 9 New Basin; G. KURSCHEDT, Treasurer, 18 Bourbon and 48 Camp streets; D. I. RICARDO, Secretary, 40 Camp and Terpsichore streets; J. O. PIERSON, corner of Camp and Orange streets; W. L. GILES, corner of Camp and Orange streets; L. C. DILLARD, 28 Camp and 85 Bacchus streets; E. L. NIMMO, 93 Canal and 93 Camp streets; W. EMMERSON, 8 Bacchus street; J. BENSADON, at Touro's Infirmary; J. E. CALDWELL, 27 Bank Place and Delord, near Camp street; W. H. HAMMER, 13 St. Charles street; W. H. PALFREY, 27 Camp and 125 Julia streets; W. L. ROBINSON, 16 Bienville street; P. CONNIFFE, 87 Customhouse street; B. O'CONNELL, 8 Conti street; C. W. WHITALL, Esplanade street, opposite the Mint; J. W. VANDERGRIFF, Architect Buildings; J. J. BROWNE, First and Chesnut streets; J. WILLIS, corner of Josephine and Chesnut streets; J. LIVINGSTON, 40 Camp, and St. Louis, near Royal street; J. O. HARRIS, Constance, near Melecerte street; D. T. DONOVAN, Market street, between Pacanier and Annunciation.

"Persons requiring relief will please apply to any of the above members. It is also requested that those applying for relief will make their applications to the member residing nearest the patients; also at the Touro Infirmary, corner of Geiennie and Levee streets.

"D. I. RICARDO,
"Secretary, 40 Camp st."

We shall have more to say of the Howard Association hereafter.
The weather continued to be very extraordinary.

"We should like some of the learned in meteorology [says the *Della*, in its usual humorous style,] to inform us of the cause, source and origin of the remarkable weather which has visited our city for the last eight or ten days. The almanac assures us that it is about the middle of July, and there is a general theory that July is in the middle of the summer; but here we have this long-established theory completely upset. By some interruption of the machinery of the world, or other casualty, the course of the weather seems to have been seriously deranged and revolutionized. We had a dry, warm winter, and now a cold, wet mid-summer comes in to vary the character of our season, and July takes the place of January. For several days past our people have been driven out of thin clothes into woollen, and from the outside of sheets, in between blankets. Some of the thin blooded are to-day lighting up fires, and windows are down everywhere.

"Thus far, there has not been one really good summer-day in New-Orleans. For ten days past, it has been constantly raining, and the sun has had quite a sinecure of it, dozing away behind the thick clouds, like a red-nosed old gentleman after dinner, with a dark bandanna over his face to keep off the flies. The appellation of "Sunny South" is entirely inapplicable to New-Orleans."

The same journal says nothing whatever, at the time, of the prevalence of yellow fever in the city, though people were then dying there of it at the rate of 200 a week.

On the 18th of July, the *N. O. Commercial Bulletin* published the report of the Charity Hospital for the week ending July 16, from which it appears, that during the week there had been 86 cases of yellow fever in the hospital. On the 17th, it contained 145 cases; and during the 17th and 18th, it reported 51 deaths from yellow fever.

The general mortality throughout the city, from yellow fever, must have been, at the time, very great, as the cases in the hospital are always very few when compared with those out of it, as we have shown above.

The disease had now become so prevalent and so fatal, that the journals began to discover that there was no use in attempting to remain any longer silent on the subject. The *Daily Delta* of the 19th of July accordingly announces, by way of apology, for introducing into its columns so disagreeable a subject, that, "in consequence of the expressed wish of many of our friends, to learn the daily condition of the Charity Hospital, we will issue a daily bulletin of the state of that institution during the sickly season of the year—commencing on Saturday, and continuing till further notice."*

Two days after the *Louisiana Courier* takes up the subject, for the first time, we believe, in the following modest tone :

"We are not disposed to create or to circulate alarms about yellow fever in New-Orleans, nor are we willing to conceal or disguise the real state of the public health. The number of deaths in the city during the week ending on Saturday last, was 304, of which 204 were caused by yellow fever, and 105 of these occurred in the Charity Hospital ; 204 per week is upwards of 29 per day. We are informed on good authority that the number of cases of the same disease has increased considerably since Saturday.

"The disease prevails in the Fourth District, or that part of the city better known formerly as Lafayette, than in any other locality ; indeed, we have been assured by a respectable physician that there it has attained to the character of a slight epidemic.

"On the other hand, it must be admitted that the attacks of the malady are confined exclusively to strangers, and among them to persons who are imprudent and irregular in taking food and drink ; who are lodged in unhealthy places—that is, whose bed-rooms are exposed to the wet weather, or to the night air ; who suffer their perspiration to be stopped suddenly by a draft of cool wind.

"There is no danger even to strangers, who adopt proper precautions in their diet, lodging, and exercise in the open air ; above all, to those who, without being disturbed by panic alarms, meet the approaches of the disease with calmness, and as soon as the symptoms make their appearance, apply the remedies prescribed by a skilful physician. We have known the yellow fever prove fatal in two or three days ; but these cases occurred only when the premonitory symptoms had warned the patients some time previously to their being prostrated on their beds, when no preventive measures had been taken, and when the disease was unskillfully treated. We have also known many attacks of yellow fever, apparently very severe, effectually repelled by simple remedies in two or three days.

* It is the custom in New-Orleans to distribute every summer, to the dogs running at large in the streets, *poisoned sausages* ; and it is remarkable that the order to do this was issued this year, by the authorities, just after the epidemic began, and when the air of the city was already tainted with the stench of dead dogs, cats, and horses lying in the lots and gutters in every part of the city. The *Orleanian* of July 23d, alluding to this, says : "A more injudicious period for the poisoning of dogs could not possibly have been chosen than the present, and the practice should be stayed. Dead dogs, bloated to an unusual size, and roasting in the sun, can be perceived on our streets, or float in dozens on the river, into some nook or eddy, where they putrify and rot. The authorities evidently did not know what they were about."

"The yellow fever, in short, is a troublesome and dangerous disorder to strangers who take no pains to protect themselves from its assaults by judicious precautions, and who are unskilfully treated when it is upon them; but sleep in dry, airy lodgings, not exposed to the cold winds, which now begin to prevail from midnight till daylight, eat wholesome food, drink wholesome beverages, and not too much of either, and then you may safely bid defiance to the yellow fever. If it does invade your system, provided that you attend to it when the first symptom occurs, and call in the assistance of an able and experienced physician, you will incur no more risk, and endure no more pain, than you have done a hundred times from colds and catarrhs in the place where you were born.

"In New-Orleans the yellow fever is not what it was twenty or twenty-five years ago. It is neither so malignant, nor does it so easily become epidemical. Various causes for this amelioration are assigned, which it is unnecessary to particularize in this place. Its nature, also, in all its forms and phases, is much better understood by the medical faculty. New remedies and modes of treatment are in vogue, and are found efficacious in cases which in former years would have been looked upon as desperate and incurable.

"Keep your minds quiet, the pores of the skin open, avoid exposure to the night air, and to the heat of the sun by day, avoid unwholesome food, take meat and drink in moderate quantities, sleep in dry airy rooms, and your safety is guaranteed. Above all, keep your imaginations from being frightened. This sort of fright is sufficient in itself to bring on any species of disorder, and occasions many a death which, without it, would not take place."

Undoubtedly fear, from its debilitating effects, is a powerful predisposing cause of disease; but it is quite certain that, in the late epidemic in New-Orleans, the yellow fever acted quite independently of fear; for it swept off infants in vast numbers, who were too young to know what fear is.

On the 21st of July the Charity Hospital was crowded to excess with patients, the floors, even, being covered with the sick. The new admissions were from sixty to one hundred per day. The sick were almost constantly being brought in, and the dead carried out. The dead-house teemed with frightful corpses, on which preyed the fearless and devoted student of pathological anatomy, with a gusto that made the uninitiated shudder. The scalpel was busy at work, and the note-book of the ardent votary of science was stained with the bloody fingers of the recorder.

Complaints of the filthy condition of the city, particularly in the Fourth District, where the yellow fever began and raged most violently, continued to be made. A writer in the *Picayune*, describing his perambulations, says:

"Our nasal organs had been so often excited by the 'particular qualities of bodies,' which lie in abundance in the gutters and streets all over our spacious city, that we began to fancy our notion of them, so far as knowledge could be communicated by this species of sensation, must be quite perfect, as well as very extensive.

"We, in an evil hour, happened to come upon St. Mary's Market, and passed along South Market street to Tchoupitoulas. What with the stench of the gutters in South Market street, and the stench of the market, and all the other various and numerous stench and offensive odors that in an avalanche of smells charged up our nostrils, we think we shall not soon forget the sensation produced."

The same journal, in reference to the Third District, says :

"We may judge from the reports made by the police, who say that the stench arising from the carcasses of dead animals, along the whole water line of the district, is 'most intolerable, and not to be endured.' Surely, there is no necessity for these things, and the numerous complaints from all parts of the city call for prompt action on the part of the authorities."

Gormley's Basin is spoken of as a "pestilential muck-and-mire pool of dead animals and filth of every kind, doing much to crowd the graveyards and hospitals."

On the 23d of July, the Board of Health announced 204 deaths from yellow fever for the week, or 29 a day. The alarm was now intense, and the newspapers began to contain comments on the dreadful epidemic that had at last aroused them. The Common Council that had been so incessantly importuned for active measures to prevent the spread of the disease, but without listening to the complaints, now declared that it was too late to do anything. They gave, it is true, \$2,000 to the Howard Association, but did nothing more. They were more intent on political questions, than on the fearful epidemic which was cutting down the citizens around them. One of the journals, the *Orleanian*, complaining of the inertness of the aldermen, says :

"Water and sewerage, three months since, would have stayed the epidemic now upon us, but the bills for relief, earnestly backed by one and all, who have interest in the best welfare of the city, were ignored in disputes about the Delta and Pandelly, idle questions of order, and silly disputes with the city attorneys.

"In the meantime the epidemic, so confidently predicted, is upon us, with fearful horrors. The reports of deaths in the Charity Hospital are earlier in season, larger in numbers, and less controllable by medical skill, than in our experience, we have known before, and we count for several years back. What do our city fathers now, to repair their deplorable neglect, their reprehensible omissions of duty? This! they endorse the advertisement of Mr. D. J. Ricardo, on behalf of the Howard Society. An association of what powers, what resources, save the piddling sum of \$2,000, donated by the council, and the good name of Daniel J. Ricardo.

"What does this show but a desire on the part of the Council to evade their duties and to shift their responsibilities? What, but to delegate their high obligations to Mr. Ricardo and his associates? True, if it must be that others should take their bishopric, perhaps they could not put it into better hands. But, alas, what sad dereliction! They seem not to know that a sin of omission is a sin of commission. But they tell us that 'the evil is upon us; that the time for need of preventive has passed. The horse is stolen, and to what end now to shut the stable door?' And is it so, that there is but one horse in this, our Augean stable? are not new victims every day presenting themselves; uncared for, unprovided for, and even, as it were, tacitly invited to the shambles.

"'It is too late,' says the Council, 'for a Board of Health!' Why, the greater the evil, the more want of remedy! Alas! the Council endorse the advertisement of Mr. Daniel Ricardo, giving private move to panic and gloom, and to throw off from their own shoulders responsibilities which have been proclaimed in sounding phrase of mere democratic manifesto, donate a few thousand dollars to such a purpose. God help us! Give us a Board of Health! Give us the man of science who shall speak as one having autho-

city, and whose words have weight in stilling excited nerves. There is at this time, and now, now is the time, when a man of true instincts for the safety of the people, with a large confidence in his study, and in his practice, may devote himself wisely to the ends we ask. If our Council would heal their own bickerings,—if they would look less to the prosperity of the city touching the election of a coroner, or a recorder, or a sheriff, in November, and attend to matters of July and August,—their honors would be more like to be made standing, and less like, as from present appearance threaten, to be dragged in the dirt of Girod street.

"The present Board of Assistant Aldermen have duties to perform. The yellow fever is in their district; at their doors; on their landings. The mischief is spreading daily. It walks at midnight, as at noon-day. It draggles its dirty skirts in byways at all hours, like as a trull does in Perdido street, and no one stands before to stay it! We want a Board of Health; we want physicians and druggists to be designated by the Council, to whom any responsible man may apply for relief at the cost of all. No private purse can stand the need. We want that boarding officers of ships arriving here, should be nominated—men of medical standing. We want science and experience, and good will, and means for good should be extended us."

Nor was the *Orleanian* alone in its too just strictures upon the "City Fathers;" many of whom, as if to complete their short-comings, and hide themselves from the frowns of their dying constituents, absolutely fled the city. They had refused to listen to the entreaties of the citizens for aid, until they began to fear for their own lives, and then they abandoned all and fled!

Wishing to give as much in detail as possible all the occurrences connected with the epidemic, which we know will be read with interest, we here add the comments of the *New Orleans Commercial Bulletin* on the extraordinary exodus of the "City Fathers," and on their entire proceedings, in relation to the epidemic:

"Some six weeks ago, the mayor sent a message to the City Council, urging upon them the expediency, nay, the absolute necessity of constituting a Board of Health. The subject was occasionally discussed, and postponed from time to time, until finally the Board of Aldermen have adjourned to October, without discharging a duty recommended to them by the mayor, and imperatively demanded by the wants and necessities of the people."

This adjournment till the first of October was to enable them to escape to the Northern cities, and to other places of supposed safety. Those who fled to the watering-places along the shores of the Gulf of Mexico, were not permitted to remain there long, for the epidemic pursued them, as will be seen in the sequel.

The *Bulletin* continues:

"The Council have in another instance shown a disregard of public sentiment, in their treatment of the Howard Association. The character, design and offices of this noble association are well known to our citizens, and we are all proud of it. The gentlemen that compose this society are active, energetic men, who in times of severe sickness make it their special duty to visit the sick and destitute, minister to their wants, and take care of them, until they recover. No more commendable institution ever existed; none more deserving the fostering care and encouragement of the city authorities, and the individual aid and countenance of our citizens.

"On Tuesday last, a resolution passed the Council, appropriating \$1,000

for medicines, that may be wanted and ordered for the Howard Association. This is a mere fraction of the probable cost of the medicine that may be required.

"Alderman Converse offered a resolution to give this benevolent association a *carte blanche* to order medicine at the expense of the city, the bills to be paid under the approval of the Finance Committee of that body. It was most unceremoniously disposed of. The same liberal-minded alderman subsequently offered a resolution to place \$5,000 at the disposal of the association. Alderman Converse thought this, doubtless, a small sum, under the circumstances, but as much as the Council would stand. He found it more, as it was promptly voted down. On motion of Alderman Irwin it was reconsidered, and the sum of \$2,500 substituted. In this shape it passed the Board of Aldermen, and was sent to the Assistants for concurrence. The Board of Assistants first laid it on the table, but afterwards called it up, when the vote stood 13 for and 4 against it; and the act of consolidation requiring 14 yeas, it was lost.

"Our council can give their thousands for a ceremonial to the dead, or any other purpose that makes a parade or show, but not even the paltry sum of \$2,500 to save the living from the disastrous effects of an epidemic of their own creation, and for which the public hold them responsible.

"A word or two more on the subject of this charitable association, that is refused this contemptible pittance of \$2,500. It was established many years ago, and is constituted a chartered body by our legislature. Its charter is perpetual, and it requires the members, when the Board of Health declares the existence of an epidemic, to devote their time to the indigent sick. There being no Board of Health, they have taken upon themselves the responsibility of going to work.

"They organized for this purpose last Thursday night, and at once commenced duty, and have, in the six days intervening, taken charge of over 200 cases. The prospect is, that the cases to be committed to their charge will multiply rapidly before the season is over.

"In 1847 they had 1,252 cases, of which only 9 one-eighth per cent. died. The average cost to them was \$10 per patient. The allowance by the Council of \$1,000, estimating their number of patients at two thousand, would be the enormous sum of fifty cents each.

"In former epidemics the Council of the old second municipality always paid all their bills for medicine, and made a liberal appropriation besides.

"This association has about twenty-five working members, who give their time and attention to the sick *gratuitously*. Some twelve or fifteen physicians have volunteered their services *gratuitously*.

"They meet to-night (July 21) for a more thorough organization, and henceforth will meet every evening, and publish their reports. The council having refused to aid their finances, they will be compelled to appeal to our citizens for aid, and who will refuse to give to such a laudable charity. They have a small fund on hand, which is fast being exhausted. More must be had to sustain them in their good work.

"The Howard Association, from present indications, will require \$25,000 more money than they now have, to carry out their good intentions.

"There will be an unenviable and fearful responsibility resting somewhere, if the sickness with which we are at present afflicted continues with the same features of mortality that are now presented. Doctors may term it what they please, ship fever, or yellow fever, or both combined, all admit its malignant type. What, in this state of things, is the obvious duty of those who are clothed with authority, who can best discharge their duty to the satisfaction of their constituents, and to the acquittance of their own consciences? Is it not to promote the health, to supervise closely and strictly the sanitary condition of the city, and thus protect and save the lives of our citizens? Health

at all times, and in all places, is the greatest of all earthly blessings: here in New-Orleans we need it more than any where else. Give us continued health, and the destiny of New-Orleans to be one of the first cities on this continent, is certain to be fulfilled. Without it, with rail-roads radiating from every street, we can be nothing more than what we are now, subservient and tributary to strangers and their money.

"Can the Aldermen of this city put their hands on their hearts and say that in this particular they have done their duty? That to the best of their ability they have endeavored, by wholesome, sanitary regulations, to promote the health of the city? And we put the question to them directly, can they justify themselves, at this particular exigency, for adjourning their Board to October? For two months and a half, and at a time when we must reasonably expect no inconsiderable degree of sickness, we are to be without a municipal government; for by the new charter the mayor is rendered almost powerless. Is this exercising the paternal care we should look for from our city fathers?

"While we are thus deserted by those to whom we should look for protection, the Howard Association will be an important auxiliary—they will constitute a *quasi* board of health, and we may be assured they will perform the duty of such a body—honestly, faithfully and promptly. They will require a large amount of money to carry out their good intentions effectively, and our citizens must bear them up, and aid them with a liberal hand."

There is, perhaps, not another case on record of the authorities of a modern city refusing to adopt sanitary regulations for the preservation of the lives of the citizens under their care, and abandoning them to fly from a pestilence.

We have examined carefully the proceedings of the Board of Aldermen on the night of their adjournment until the epidemic would be probably ended, as they were reported in the daily *Delta*, and we find the statements of the *Bulletin* correct, though it did not tell all of the truth.* It might have said that the Aldermen also rejected the offer of two respectable physicians to attend the sick during the epidemic; and that a resolution adopted by the Board of Assistant Aldermen, "ordering the fines collected by the Recorder of the Fourth District, up to the first day of November next, to be applied to the relief of the sick and the destitute," etc., was, on motion, rejected.

The clamors of the people regarding the filthy state of the city led to the impeachment of the Street Commissioner, by the Assistant Aldermen, who, as it afterwards appeared, acted very unjustly in so doing, as they had not furnished the Commissioner with the necessary means for keeping the city clean. The impeachment was, therefore, withdrawn. The whole thing was a mere *ruse* to deceive the people, and make them believe that the Aldermen had done their duty.

On the 23d of July the Board of Health reported, for the week, 617 deaths, of which 429 were of yellow fever, or 61 per day, the deaths from yellow fever having more than doubled since the previous week.

The Howard Association, now deserted by the city authorities, were obliged to call on the citizens for private aid. The ravages of the pestilence were now entirely too extensive for the members of the asso-

* The *Assistant Aldermen* did not adjourn over to October, until the 27th of July, when the resolution was carried by a vote of 10 yeas to 8 nays. It is due to some of these to say, that they staid through the epidemic and lent their aid.

ciation, and personal aid was needed. This was readily obtained. A large number of the most respectable physicians volunteered their services, resolved to risk their lives for the aid of the sick and dying. The Secretary of the Howard Association had the pleasure of issuing the following:—

“NEW-ORLEANS, July 22d, 1853.

“The following practising physicians have kindly offered their gratuitous services in attending patients under the charge of the Association:

“*First District*,—Dr. N. Smith, corner of Annunciation and Edward sts.; Dr. Benedict, Magazine, near Bartholomew street; Dr. Tubuell, Carondelet, near St. Joseph; Dr. Bensadon, at Touro Infirmary; Dr. Ball, corner of Hercules and Thalia streets; Dr. Baldwin, 407 Magazine street; Dr. McKelvey, 12 Carondelet street; Dr. G. W. Cross, 19 Nayades street; Dr. Mathieu, Nayades street, between Euterpe and Polymnia streets; Dr. G. W. Dirmeyer, 11 New Basin; Dr. McFarlane, corner of Circus and Poydras streets; Dr. Dalton, St. Charles street, over Tattersalls; Dr. Jacobson, 1 Union st.; Dr. Goring, Diamond's Row; Dr. Kisfly, 8 Philippa street; Dr. A. N. Bayler, Tchoupitoulas, near Orange street. 4

“*Second District*,—Dr. R. Hagan, corner of Bourbon and Bienville streets; Dr. Cracou, 48 Dauphin street; Dr. R. W. Bertrand, 244 Basin street.

“*Third District*,—Dr. Kovaleski, 13 Hospital street; Dr. Browning, Moreau street, below the Railroad; Dr. Iken, Royal, near Peace street,

“*Fourth District*,—Dr. M. M. Dowler, Rousseau, near Saraparu street; Dr. Schubert, corner of Rousseau and Second streets; Dr. A. Dedrich, Magazine, near St. Andrew street; Dr. P. Yusei, Live Oak, near Josephine st.

The following names were afterwards added on the 26th of July:—

“Dr. Lenton, 127 Canal street; Dr. Robert Malcolmson, 146 Circus street; Dr. Josiah Hale, Girod, near St. Charles street; Dr. A. Hart, St. Joseph, near Camp street; Dr. Hire, 137 Annunciation street; Dr. N. G. Friend, 90 Common street; Dr. C. H. Porter, 12 Robinson street; Dr. A. Donnand, 31 Dryades and 18 Carondelet streets; Dr. James T. Seguin, 94 Poydras st.; Dr. Lightcap, 130 Poydras street.

“*Second District*,—Dr. Kratz, corner of Conti and Marais streets; Dr. Lucien Henly, 94 Canal street.

“*Third District*,—Dr. J. A. Cantrelle, 19 Congress street.

“*Fourth District*,—Dr. Uren, Rousseau, near City Hall; Dr. J. K. Quilling, corner of First and Apollo streets; Dr. Tchender, corner of Magazine and Seventh streets.

“The Medical Faculty generally, of this city, are respectfully requested to permit their names to be added to the above list, which they can do by applying to either of the members, or the secretary.

“D. I. RICARDO, *Secretary*.”

Nearly all these gentlemen are personally known to us, and we take the greatest pleasure in recording their names. The general who slays his thousands on the field of battle, is ever after lauded to the skies for what are called his “noble acts;” but the kind-hearted and benevolent physician, who labors night and day to *save* lives, is too often passed by in silence. Such is the world.

The following gentlemen of the highest respectability volunteered to collect funds:

First District—J. O. Harris, G. W. Shaw, H. W. Palfrey, J. E. Caldwell.

Second District—G. Kursheedt, W. L. Robinson, J. Livingston.

Third District—C. W. Whitall, J. M. Vandergriff.

Fourth District—J. J. Browne, J. Willis.

The New Orleans *Commercial Bulletin* thus speaks of them :

"They are all gentlemen of high character and standing; and we hope their philanthropic appeals will be nobly responded to. The cause of suffering humanity must not be neglected; and when those who brave the pestilence at mid-day and at midnight ask aid to enable them to prosecute their humane objects, it should not, it *must not*, be refused. The city government has refused the association the aid it imperatively requires. Therefore the citizens must furnish it. Let no man, no woman, be wanting, for, in an hour that human foresight cannot provide against, *they* may be helpless and suffering. Throw your bread upon the waters; it may return to you fourfold before the lapse of many days."

The report of the Charity Hospital for the week ending July 23d, showed 190 deaths from yellow fever. If so many were in the Hospital, what must have been the number in the city at large! Strange as it may appear, many at this time in New-Orleans denied there was any epidemic there. The country papers accused the city Journals of concealing the truth in regard to the mortality; and the latter complained that accounts were much exaggerated. Even the *Orleanian* affected to be in doubt whether there was an epidemic, or not, although the deaths from yellow fever alone were more than 60 per day.* It writes as follows, on the 24th of July:—

"There are very many of our old residents who insist that the yellow fever, as it now prevails, is not at all epidemic, but only confined to certain localities, near where the British ship *Evangeline*, (the iron ship from Jamaica) was moored about a month since; and that prompt and resolute measures of a *cordon sanitaire* will confine it to this locality, and greatly relieve the present sufferers, and stay and soothe all further apprehension.

"At all events, we need something *official*—something upon which we may count. We have the highest regard for the Howard Association, but if they be measured abroad by the petty sums the Council has intrusted them with, they are insignificant indeed. If there be an epidemic, let us know it, not from idle street rumor, but from a source entitled to credit. Above all, let not our City Council delegate their powers. They have been elected to do duties which they have assumed to do; now that they are more arduous than they thought, the better virtue to hold on to them. The Council is to be convened for an early hour Monday or Tuesday morning. Let it not adjourn without *doing*."

On the 26th of July a new Board of Health was organized, of which Mayor Crossman was the president, and Dr. A. F. Axon the permanent secretary. Dr. Hestar was elected Port Physician. Besides these gentlemen, the Board consisted of 15 health wardens, appointed from the different wards in the city. Besides this Board of Health, the City Council which met on the 25th of July, (a called meeting) established

* These were only the deaths reported, but many well-informed persons declared the interments to be not less than 100 or 120 per day. Such is the statement of *Le Courrier de la Louisiane*:—"La fièvre jaune fait de tels ravages que nous ne saurions trop engager ceux qui n'ont pas fui le fleau à prendre toutes les précautions pour s'en mettre à l'abri. Le nombre de décès est considérable, et des gens bien informés prétendent que les inhumations ne sont pas moins de 100 à 120 par vingt-quatre heures."

a quarantine, at Slaughter-house Point, where all foreign vessels were to be boarded by a physician, whose fee was fixed at \$5. No vessel was allowed to approach the city, without a permit from the boarding physician. The Board of Health were also empowered to draw on the city treasury to the extent of \$10,000, to enable them to execute the powers conferred upon them.

The establishment of a quarantine at this time, when the city was already scourged with a frightful pestilence, was ridiculous in the extreme. The city fathers of New Orleans were never overstocked with wisdom. A quarantine then, was like shutting the stable door after the horse was stolen. After refusing, all summer, to do anything to avert an epidemic, it was worse than folly to establish a quarantine after the city was suffering all the horrors of a plague; it was only adding insult to injury, and wasting the public money—it was giving the Board of Health \$10,000 to prevent the yellow fever coming to New-Orleans after it was already there. It looked very much like a pretext for plundering the city treasury. We are not surprised that the *Louisiana Courier* exclaimed, "In the name of wonder, what are we come to!" The \$10,000 appropriated was more especially for cleaning the streets; but it was then too late; for the filth had already done its work. It had brought a frightful plague upon the city, which no human power could check. The \$10,000 should have gone to the Howard Association; but they were not allowed to use a dollar of it.*

At this stage of the epidemic the most frightful scenes of sickness and death began to be exhibited, even in the most favored parts of the city. Whole families were swept away, and almost every house furnished tenants for the cemeteries. The journals, as usual, said as little as possible of the work of death that was going on in all parts of the city; but they would occasionally break out with an allusion to the subject, and a notice of some particular case. The *Orleanian* of the 28th of July, in the third district, speaking of the untiring labors of the Howard Association, observes:—

"We had no conception that this section of the city was so severely visited by the pestilence of our climate, as it is, until we examined, last evening, the lengthened list of Mr. J. M. Vandergriff. Within the past three days, sixty-seven cases have been reported to them, of which twenty-three were announced yesterday morning. How many cases they may have within the twenty-four hours, from yesterday morning, we cannot surmise; but apprehend, from the unhealthy state of the weather, that there will be a large increase.

"Mr. Vandergriff informs us that he has not, since 1832, witnessed such an amount of suffering—such sickness and distress—whole families stricken and decimated! Of one family, two daughters died in the Charity Hospital, and the father and two sons are now dying, or perhaps dead. One poor woman they discovered ill in a wheelbarrow, and the Rev. Mr. Whitall trundled the wheelbarrow along, until they procured a place of shelter. Yet it is thought she will recover. The details Mr. V. gave us were harrowing; still it is satisfactory, in the midst of this depression, to know that

* New-Orleans Bulletin, July 27.

the Howard Association design to establish an infirmary in the third district. On the benefit of such an institute, we need not expatiate. It has been manifested here before."

The grave-yards were now so crowded with corpses, waiting to be buried, that loud complaints were uttered because there were not more grave-diggers provided. The heavy and daily rains, too, rendered the streets leading to some of the cemeteries almost impassable by the hearses that were constantly moving along them. But the loudest complaints, says the *Orleanian*, of the 28th of July, are of the "inadequate force employed in preparing graves for the reception of the defunct, and the great delay occasioned thereby. Five times the number now engaged, we are informed by an individual who visited the cemetery yesterday, would be required, so numerous are the interments, and so necessary is it that the friends of the deceased should leave, with dispatch, so disagreeable and noisome a position. As matters are now arranged at St. Patrick's, observed our informant, (an Irishman,) people will have to make *their own graves*. Whether he meant that the departed would have to arise from their confined slumbers and fashion their tenements of clay, or that the living, taking time by the forelock, should dig their own graves, in advance of being summoned by grim death, we know not. But this we do know, that in a grave-yard, to which, we believe, a majority of all those who die of yellow fever are borne, there ought, assuredly, to be a sufficient number engaged to bury the dead! The friends of the latter cannot be expected to do it, or aid in it; yet, it would seem, from the information which we have obtained, that unless they perform it, or assist in doing so, they will have to remain, under sunshine and rain, as the case may be, for a time, not to be patiently endured. Will the trustees see to this, and not have all censure rest upon the Rev. Mr. Mullan?"

Everything now, in New-Orleans, presented a most gloomy and deserted appearance: all business had ceased, and most of the places of trade were closed. The very extraordinary weather still continued. "Will any one tell us," says the *Delta* of the 29th of July, "what time of the year it is? It certainly is not July. Last night it was cold enough for blankets. A sharp north wind blew all night. Bad time for patients! So much greater the need for care and attention."

On the 28th of July 100 persons died of the yellow fever. The mortality was now greater than at any time during the epidemic of 1847, when 77 was the greatest number of deaths from yellow fever on any one day. The deaths from yellow fever, in the Charity Hospital, were, at this period of the epidemic, from 25 to 30 per day. Many impositions were practised upon the hospital to save expense. Many went there for medical aid who were able to pay; and it was a practice too common, among a certain class, to send patients there, while in a dying condition, to escape the expenses of their burial.

On the 30th of July, the Board of Health reported for the week 723 deaths, of which 555 were from yellow fever. This was at the rate of 79 per day, from yellow fever alone.

On the 6th of August, the Board of Health made the following report for the week:

	Total.	Yellow Fever.
Sunday, July 31.....	157.....	137
Monday, August 1.....	142.....	106
Tuesday, .. 2.....	135.....	115
Wednesday, .. 3.....	146.....	124
Thursday, .. 4.....	166.....	143
Friday, .. 5.....	150.....	128
Saturday, .. 6.....	238.....	194
Total.....	1,134.....	947

This shows an increase of 392 over those of the previous week.

The Charity Hospital reports for the two weeks, compared, present the following table :

Week ending at midnight on—	Admissions.	Deaths.	Yellow Fever.
Friday, August 5.....	547.....	318.....	307
Friday, July 29.....	570.....	218.....	207

Showing an increase for the week ending at midnight, on Friday, August 5, of 100 deaths, and 100 by yellow fever over the week ending at midnight on Friday, the 29th of July.

The scenes in the Charity Hospital must have been awful in the extreme, such as none but the stoutest hearts could witness. The following is the report for one week :

	Admissions.	Deaths.	Yellow Fever.
Saturday, July 30.....	81.....	60.....	60
Sunday, .. 31.....	59.....	37.....	37
Monday, Aug. 1.....	86.....	38.....	36
Tuesday, .. 2.....	91.....	41.....	35
Wednesday, .. 3.....	71.....	49.....	49
Thursday, .. 4.....	60.....	40.....	40
Friday, .. 5.....	99.....	53.....	50
Total.....	547.....	318.....	307

From this it will be seen that the average number admitted per day was 78, or 1 for every half hour ; while the average number of deaths was 45 per day, or nearly 2 every hour ! There was an awful malignancy attending the disease, such as none of the oldest physicians had ever witnessed in yellow fever. There was superadded to the usual characteristics of yellow fever a rapid congestion, which baffled all treatment.

Great as the mortality was at this time, it was believed by many in New-Orleans, who had ample means of observation, that the number of deaths reported was quite too small. The *Louisiana Courier*, of August 9, one of the most reliable journals of New-Orleans, expressed its doubts on the subject as follows :

" We have for some days entertained doubts whether the lists of deaths, as published in the newspapers, can be relied upon as accurate. They are made up, we believe, from reports of sextons or grave-diggers at the several burying-grounds, and it depends upon the correctness of these reports whether the published list shall be received as accurate or not. We are far from meaning to say or to insinuate that those reports of the sextons and grave-diggers are deficient or inaccurate by design. But everybody knows that the burials reported at several of the cemeteries are so numerous that it must be difficult for any one man, whose attention is continually occupied

in the fearful business of inspecting the interments that are made at different spots of the same graveyard at the same moment, to be correct in making out his lists. This difficulty will occur to every one who reflects for half a minute on the subject. It is stated, and the statement has been current for some days past, that dead bodies in considerable numbers are left to lie unburied on the surface of the earth in some of the graveyards, for want of hands to dig graves in which to bury them. Are these unburied bodies reported in the lists of interments, or are they not?"

Horrible as have been the events of the epidemic, which we have thus far recorded, we have still more horrible ones to relate. The *Daily Delta*, of the 8th of August, under the head of "*Horrible Spectacle!*" relates dreadful circumstances in the condition of the cemetery of the Fourth District. This is the place, says the *Daily Delta*, in which the dead bodies are buried by the corporation. That journal then proceeds, as follows:

"The carts of the Street Commissioner, or the contractors, (we do not know which,) go around daily, and collecting a load of victims of the epidemic, who have been previously nailed up in corporation coffins, take them to the cemetery in the rear of the Fourth District, where graves are dug to the depth of two feet, or eighteen inches, wherein the coffins are deposited, and the dirt thrown upon them. We understand that six men have been kept busy digging these graves for the week past. The number of corpses increasing, these laborers found their work too severe, and either some of them left, or they were unable to supply the demand for graves on Friday last, when the number carried to this cemetery alone was seventy-one. The coffins were deposited on the ground by the cartmen, who left them. There forty of them remained until yesterday morning, unburied. The action of the sun, through the frail inclosure, produced a rapid decomposition of the bodies, several of which swelled so as to burst the coffins. Attracted by the unusually violent and offensive effluvia, several citizens in the neighborhood visited the spot, when the horrible sight was presented of forty coffins unburied, through which the ghastly, reeking bodies of as many victims of the pestilence might be seen, whilst the odor was almost overpowering. The Street Commissioner was informed of this disgusting condition of affairs, and that officer manifested his willingness to repair this horrible neglect, but stated that it was very difficult to obtain laborers for this duty. The Mayor was also informed of the facts, and his honor directed his attention to the subject, but stated at the same time that it did not fall within the line of his duty. It is quite as doubtful whether it is the duty of the Street Commissioner. Such is the beautiful confusion of our laws and ordinances, the effect of the tampering and changing to which they are continually subjected! Our city government, on occasions of public emergency and danger, is a mere farce."

In the evening edition of the same journal, it adds the following:

"We spoke this morning of the fact of a great number of bodies lying in the Fourth District Cemetery unburied, but we greatly underrated the amount. Last night, the number uninterred was seventy-eight, although men had been working all day. Mr. Kursheedt, the Chairman of the Committee on Cemeteries, on the part of the Board of Health, used almost superhuman exertions to get the bodies placed under ground; but it was impossible to obtain men to work, though Mr. Kursheedt offered \$5 per hour for laborers. In St. Patrick's Cemetery, there are many bodies in the same condition, on account of scruples about burying bodies in unconsecrated ground.

"We should like to know if there be another city government in the

world, besides that of New-Orleans, which would not, at a time like this, even usurp our authority to meet incidents of this character. Is the safety of hundreds to be jeopardized because some persons object to have bodies buried in unconsecrated ground? Surely, there never was so imbecile an authority over any city, as that which controls the fortunes of this devoted city."

Such things are too horrible to be related. From the statements of the *Courier*, it appears that such horrid scenes were not confined to the Fourth District Cemetery alone. It says:

"We have been informed that the condition of one of the graveyards in the Third District is not much better. We would respectfully inquire whether the forty bodies left on the surface of the earth, unburied, were put on the list of burials? We would ask, moreover, if it be possible for a sexton or grave-digger to keep an accurate account of the bodies which are brought to his graveyard through different entrances, and make a correct account of them, amid the confusion and terror of the scenes that surround him? Admitting that he has nerves of iron, he would not be able to fulfil the task, unless he had a dozen pair of eyes to oversee all parts of his domain at once.

"We are surprised that the Mayor has not given part of his attention to this dreadful condition of the burying-grounds. The *Delta* tells us that the Mayor, on being apprised of these facts, said the matter did not fall within the line of his duty. We did think, until now, that the chief magistrate of a city was not travelling beyond the line of his duty, when he was endeavoring to provide means to preserve the lives of his fellow-citizens. We know, and the Mayor knows, that the people of New-Orleans would never blame him for exerting himself to the uttermost for the accomplishment of so noble a purpose, even if in doing so he were compelled to step beyond the line of his duty. A private individual, or a public officer, is always 'within the line of his duty' when he is performing an act of common humanity. 'The line of his duty,' indeed! This is a pretty tale to tell of the head Whig and chief magistrate of New-Orleans! It is like a watchman we heard of, who saw a house broken open on the other side of the street, and refused to give the alarm because it was out of his beat!"

Death was now stalking through the city with frightful strides, cutting down not only the unacclimated, but even the acclimated, who had lived in the city many years, and who had had the yellow fever before. Even those who were born there were not spared. Children of all ages were swept off in great numbers. On the 8th of August the total number of deaths was 228, of which 193 were from yellow fever; which was 28 more than the day before. The deaths for the week ending August 7 were 1,199, of which 970 were from yellow fever.

In the *Crescent*, of the 9th of August, we find some additional particulars regarding the frightful scenes in the cemeteries in an article headed—

"THE UNBURIED DEAD.

"On Sunday afternoon, information was sent to the Mayor that numerous dead bodies were lying on the ground in the Lafayette Cemetery, unburied, for the want of force to perform the work of sepulture. The Chairman of the

Committee on Cemeteries, Mr. Kursheedt, appointed by the Board of Health, repaired to the spot about dark. Near there he found the 'chain gang,' which had been employed from early in the afternoon in the work of burial, coming away, having been unable to inter all the bodies. He prevailed on them, by promise of extra pay and a supper, to go back and resume the work. On arriving at the Cemetery, he found seventy-one bodies lying piled on the ground, swollen and bursting their coffins, and enveloped in swarms of flies. The chain gang was set to work burying them, and by half-past three o'clock yesterday they were all interred. Orders were given, we have been informed, by the competent authority, that no more bodies should be sent to that Cemetery yesterday. One cause of the pressure on this Cemetery was, as we have been informed, the impassable state of Louisa-street, leading to the burying-ground of St. Vincent de Paul, where there are sixty graves dug, and left unemployed in consequence of the difficulty of getting to them. It is also reported that the reason why burial could not be procured in the Lafayette Cemetery, was because the sexton refused to pay more than twenty cents each for digging the graves. This official gets a dollar from the Corporation for each body buried; and if from a niggard motive he failed to have the graves dug, to meet the requirements of the times, he deserves the most unreserved censure of the community.

"The burials have heretofore been made in this Cemetery in such a careless manner as alone to produce pestilence. The tops of the coffins have been sunk no lower than to a level with the surface of the ground, and then covered over in the manner of potato ridges. In this situation, they were subjected to be exposed to the washings of heavy rains, and the sun, acting on the putrid corpses within, they were liable to swell and burst the coffins, thus tainting the atmosphere with a putrescence sufficient alone to generate a plague.

"This was the state of things when several persons in the neighborhood, inhaling the rank effluvia, informed the Mayor of the fact, who immediately took active measures for having the graves covered with eighteen inches of additional earth. Orders have also been issued to the Street Commissioner to send bodies to Potter's Field, or to St. Vincent de Paul, and the gates of Lafayette Cemetery No. 2 have been closed for the present, except to bodies coming from the Fourth District.

"The Mayor, we understand, has taken the responsibility of applying remedies to meet the exigencies of the times.

"The City Council has done nothing commensurate with its power to alleviate the present pressing necessities, brought about by the epidemic; but have left all to be done by private charity. This, however, is attributable more to ignorance of their duties on the part of its members, and not to criminal inattention. Too much credit cannot be conceded to the numerous associations which have undertaken the task of alleviating the present distressing stage of facts, and to the Mayor, who has taken such energetic action in this regard."*

*The editors of the *Le Courier de la Louisiane* thus attack the Mayor, for neglect of duty. We presume that at that awful period the Mayor of the city, in the absence of the Councils, had more calls for his services than he could well attend to:

"Il y a quelques jours, une malheureuse femme perdit son mari de la maladie régnante. No sachant à qui s'adresser pour faire l'inhumation du cadavre, elle eut recours à un de nos amis; celui-ci l'adressa au maire. La malheureuse se rendit au bureau du magistrat et lui fit la relation de son infortune. Le maire, occupé sans doute de choses plus importantes, entendit à peine cette infortunée qui venait lui demander six pieds de terre pour recouvrir les restes de son mari,

The severest censures on the city authorities were lavishly bestowed by nearly all of the city journals, without distinction of party. It may be well to state that the city at this time was without a government. Under the head of "Delegated Powers," the *Bulletin* of the 9th of August thus exposes the actual state of things :

"We are desired to say that the Finance Committee, who, it seems, are the putative representatives of the City Council, acting with delegated powers, but actually with no authority at all, excepting so far as relates to the finances of the city, have, at a formal meeting held yesterday morning, passed a resolution, 'requesting' the Board of Health to discontinue interments in the Fourth District, and also have instructed the Street Commissioner to the same effect. They recommend that burials hereafter be made in some of the cemeteries on the Metallic Ridge. They have also provided lime, and the chloride of lime, to be used in the cemeteries.

"So far, so good. But does this committee in reality think it can exercise the functions and discharge the duties of the constituent body that delegated to them certain specific offices! No! they know well enough they cannot; hence the use of the phraseology they employ. They *request*—mark that!—they 'request' the Board of Health to do so and so, thus acknowledging they have not the power to enforce their recommendations. What a humiliating position! A City Council, in the midst of an unprecedented epidemic, adjourning for their own health, convenience, and comfort, during the sickly season, and delegating their powers to a *Finance Committee*, which, in a formally-called meeting, pass resolutions with the *request* that they shall be observed! Oh, 'shame, where is thy blush!' A *Finance Committee*, representing the Board of Aldermen and Assistant Aldermen, for the government of a city in a season of epidemic, carrying off two hundred victims a day!—What a burlesque on municipal government!"

For the information of those who are not conversant with the slave regulations of New-Orleans, it may be well to observe, that the "chain gang" mentioned above consists of negroes convicted for crimes, and sentenced to this punishment.

The mode of burying the dead in the cemeteries was this:—Long furrows, as in a ploughed field, were made, about 18, or at most 24 inches in depth. It was not deep enough to be called a ditch. Into these the diggers threw the coffins and covered them over with only a few shovelfuls of dirt, which the heavy rains that fell daily soon washed away, leaving the coffins in long rows entirely bare, and exposed to the heat of a tropical sun. The coffins, made of plain pine corporation lumber, and but slightly put together, allowed the putrefac-

mort depuis la veille! Savez-vous quelle fut la réponse de CELUI qui par sa position devrait être le premier à calmer les douleurs, à cicatriser les plaies? *Come back to-morrow! Repassez demain! Repassez de main!* Mais que vouliez-vous, M. le maire, que cette malheureuse fît du cadavre de son mari? Fallait-il qu'elle le jetât dans la rue et qu'elle le laissât exposé au ardeurs du soleil, ou qu'elle le transportât sur ses épaules cherchant de la sépulture que vous lui aviez refusée?

"Nous sommes fâchés d'être aussi souvent obligés de censurer la conduite du maire; mais entre les sympathies personnelles que nous pouvons avoir pour lui et nos devoirs le journaliste indépendant nous n'avons pu hésiter: il nous a fallu le rappeler à ses devoirs."

tion of the bodies to ooze out, filling the air, far and near, with the most intolerable pestilential odors.*

The scenes of the epidemic were now so horrible and so common, staring every one in the face, that the journals were filled with the horrid details. The editors could scarcely begin an editorial, on any subject, without introducing the horrors of the epidemic, or the neglect of the authorities, before they finished.†

Soon after the beginning of August, a new alarm began to seize on the people. At first, they confidently flattered themselves that it was only the unacclimated and those of intemperate habits who were liable to attack; but they now saw that the awful plague was seizing even the oldest citizens. This, indeed, the French editors predicted, as a result of the indifference of the authorities in regard to the filthy emanations of the gutters and cemeteries, now filled with half-buried corpses.‡

The French inhabitants of New Orleans have ever been among the last to dread the yellow fever; but if we may judge of the state of their minds from the tone of the French editors, we must conclude that their fears had become pretty well aroused. New-Orleans was now a real theatre of horrors.

"Oh, God!" exclaims the *Orleanian*, "how fearful are the visitations of the Destroying Angel; and how harrowing, to the feeling heart, the painful evidences of them! We have just returned from a dwelling where the dead and the dying lie in close proximity! In a small and ill-ventilated tenement, scarcely allowing of more space than is occupied by three bedsteads, are four persons stricken with yellow fever. Two sons lay side by side, and in the

* *Le Courrier*, of the 8th of August, says:—"Les charrettes du commissaire des rues ou d'entrepreneurs spéciaux (nous ne savons lequel) font chaque jour leur ronde, prenant des charretées de cadavres, qui ont été à l'avance jetés dans des cercueils fournis par la corporation. Elles transportent leur charge funèbre dans la cimetière du Quatrième District, où les cercueils sont déposés en terre. Mais cette expression est à peine juste. Que l'on ne croie pas que ce soient des fosses profondes qui reçoivent les victimes! Non. On nous a assuré que l'on se contentait de creuser un long sillon, comme si l'on préparait ce champ de la mort aux travaux de l'agriculture; dans ce sillon, ayant à peine dix-huit pouces ou deux pieds de profondeur, on place les cercueils; trois ou quatre pelletées de terre sont jetées par-dessus, et tout est dit. Vienne une forte pluie, et alors une longue traînée de cercueils, ouverts pour la plupart, une interminable rangée de corps en putréfaction se montreront à découvert, répandant au loin des miasmes délétères, et jetant dans l'atmosphère de nouveaux éléments de mort."

† "Nous sommes obligés, bien malgré nous, de revenir sur ce sujet lamentable. Et comment parler d'autre chose que de cette question qui, à l'heure qu'il est, absorbe toutes les préoccupations, alarme tous les esprits. Mais à Dieu ne plaise que nous choissions ce thème pour augmenter encore les terreurs. Nous savons combien la peur peut ajouter à l'influence d'une épidémie, et si nous pouvions le faire, sans manquer à notre devoir, nous chercherions bien plutôt à dissimuler l'horreur de la situation."

‡ "Mais nous sommes forcés de signaler des faits qui annoncent une incurie coupable et qui, s'ils devaient continuer à se reproduire, feraient succéder à la fièvre jaune une peste contre laquelle personne ne serait en sûreté; le fléau, après avoir dévoré toute la population étrangère, enfanterait une nouvelle épidémie qui absorberait et ceux-là qui croyaient avoir acquis un droit d'immunité par une longue résidence et ceux que leur naissance semblait mettre hors de tout danger."

"Nous avons parlé d'incurie. En effet, il faut qu'il y ait faute quelque part. Les différentes autorités se renvoient la balle, chacun veut se soustraire à un grave devoir, personne n'agit; et cependant la ville voit se former le germe d'une maladie destinée à produire des calamités plus terribles que tout ce dont nous avons été témoins jusqu'ici."

vigor and strength of youth, battle with the fell disease; the father and mother in one bed, the former dead and lying at the side of the wife of his bosom, who scarcely knows that he, to whom in early life she was united in holy vows, has passed to the judgment-seat of the All-Wise! who, for purposes beyond our finite ken, afflicts some more severely than others!"

"The plague," says one of the French editors, "which is now decimating our population, recalls those great epidemics which have decimated, at different epochs, certain parts of the Old World, and which have given birth to legends which still frighten the imagination. A little more delay, a little more hesitation on the part of our authorities, and the pestilence of Florence will have had a counterpart here in our city. It seems as though we were bordering upon the realization of the prophecy with which Savonarole frightened Italy, when he exclaimed: 'Then the cities shall be converted into vast cemeteries, and the grave-diggers, hurrying through the cities, shall knock at each one's door, crying out, "Who has dead to bury?"' 'Alas!' cries the editor, "we have not even grave-diggers!"*

This was literally true of New-Orleans, for, at the time the above was written, grave-diggers were too few to bury the dead, and could not be hired at \$5 per hour.† And men, too, went round with carts knocking at the doors, and asking if there were any dead to bury!

The horrid scenes of death during the epidemic in New-Orleans of 1853, baffle all description. Those who witnessed them declare that they have never been exaggerated. What was written there upon the spot by eye-witnesses is certainly worthy of some credit. The following awful description we copy from the New-Orleans *Daily Crescent* of the 11th of August. It is so graphic that we cannot refrain from giving it entire:

"DOWN AMONG THE DEAD MEN.

"To verify the many horrible reports of the doings among the dead," says the editor, "we the other day visited the cemeteries. In every street were long processions, tramping to the solemn music of funeral marches. In the countenances of plodding passengers were the lines of anxiety and grief, and many a door was festooned with black and white hangings, the voiceless witnesses of wailing and of sorrow. On the one hand, slowly swept the long corteges of the wealthy, nodding with plumes and drawn by prancing horses, rejoicing in their funeral vanities; on another, the hearse of the citizen-soldier, preceded by measured music, enveloped in warlike panoply, and followed by the noisy tread of men under arms; while there, again, the pauper was trundled to his long home on a rickety cart, with a boy for a driver, who whistled as he went, and swore a careless oath as he urged his mule or spavined horse to a trot, making haste with another morsel contributed to the grand banquet of death. Now among the steeples was heard the chiming of the bells, as of ghouls up there, mingling their hoarse voices as in a chorus of gratulation over the ranks of fallen mortality. Anon from some lowly tenement trilled the low wail of a mother for the child of her affections, while from the corner opposite burst the song of some low bacchanal, mingling ribaldry with sentiment, or swearing a prayer or two, as the humor moved him.

"The skies wore a delusive aspect. Above was all cloudless sunshine, but

* *Le Courrier de la Louisiane*, of August 8.

† "M. Kursheedt, le président du comité des cimetières nommé par le Bureau de Santé, a fait des efforts surhumains pour que tous les corps fussent inhumés; afin d'obtenir des travailleurs il a offert des sommes qui pourraient être considérées fabuleuses; mais en vain. Tous reculent devant le danger. Ce faite ajoute une nouvelle force à ce que nous avons dit plus haut: il faut nécessairement employer à ce travail les nègres de chaînes."

little in keeping with the black melancholy that enveloped all below. Out along the highways that lead to the cities of the dead, and still the tramp of funeral crowds knew no cessation. Up rolled the volumes of dust from the busy roads, and the plumes of the death-carriages nodded in seeming sympathy to the swaying cypresses of the swamp, enveloped in their dun appareling of weeping moss—fit garniture for such a scene.

"At the gathering points carriages accumulated, and vulgar teamsters, as they jostled each other in the press, mingled the coarse jest with the ribald oath; no sound but of profane malediction and of riotous mirth, the clang of whip-thongs and the rattle of wheels. At the gates, the winds brought intimation of the corruption working within. Not a puff but was laden with the rank atmosphere from rotting corpses. Inside they were piled by fifties, exposed to the heat of the sun, swollen with corruption, bursting their coffin-lids, and sundering, as if by physical effort, the ligaments that bound their hands and feet, and extending their rigid limbs in every *outré* attitude. What a feast of horrors! Inside, corpses piled in pyramids, and without the gates, old and withered crones and fat huxter-women, fretting in their own grease, dispensing ice-creams and confections, and brushing away, with brooms made of bushes, the green bottle-flies that hovered on their merchandise, and that anon buzzed away to drink dainty inhalations from the green and festering corpses. Mammon at the gates was making thrift outside by the hands of his black and sweating minions, that tendered sweetmeats and cooling beverages to the throngs of mourners or of idle spectators, who, inhaling the fumes of rotting bodies, already 'heaved the gorge,' while within, the 'King of Terrors' held his Saturnalia, with a crowd of stolid laborers, who, as they tumbled the dead into ditches, knocked them 'about the mazzard,' and swore dread oaths, intermingled with the more dreadful sounds of demoniac jollity.

"Long ditches were dug across the great human charnel. Wide enough were they to entomb a legion, but only fourteen inches deep. Coffins laid in them showed their tops above the surface of the earth. On these was piled dirt to the depth of a foot or more, but so loosely, that the myriads of flies found entry between the loose clods, down to the cracked seams of the coffins, and buzzed and blew there their *ovaria*, creating each hour their new-hatched swarms.

"But no sound was there of sorrow within that wide Gehenna. Men used to the scent of dissolution had forgotten all touch of sympathy. Uncouth laborers, with their bare shock heads, stood under the broiling heat of the sun, digging in the earth; and as anon they would encounter an obstructing root or stump, would swear a hideous oath, remove to another spot, and go on digging as before. Now and then the mattock or the spade would disturb the bones of some former tenant of the mould, forgotten there amid the armies of the accumulated victims, and the sturdy laborer, with a gibe, would hurl the broken fragments on the sward, growl forth an energetic d—n, and chuckle in his excess of glee. Skull-bones were dug up from their long sepulture, with ghastliness staring out

'From each lack-lustre, eyeless hole.'

without eliciting an 'Alas, poor Yorick,' and with only an exclamation from the digger, of 'room for your betters.'

"Economy of space was the source of cunning calculation in bestowing away the dead men. Side by side were laid two, of gigantic proportions, bloated by corruption to the size of Titans. The central projections of their coffins left space between them at their heads and heels. This was too much room to be filled with earth. How should the space be saved? Opportunely the material is at hand, for a cart comes lumbering in, with the corpses of a mother and her two little children. Chuck the children in the spaces at the heads and heels of the Titans, and lay the mother by herself, out there alone!

A comrade for her will be found anon, and herself and babes will sleep not the less soundly from the unwonted contact!

"The fumes rise up in deathly exhalations from the accumulating hecatombs of fast-coming corpses. Men wear at their noses bags of camphor and odorous spices—for there are crowds there who have no business but to look on and contemplate the vast congregation of the dead. They don't care if they die themselves—they have become so used to the reek of corruption. They even laugh at the riotings of the skeleton Death, and crack jokes in the horrid atmosphere where scarcely they can draw breath for utterance.

"The stoical negroes, too, who are hired at five dollars per hour to assist in the work of interment, stagger under the stifling fumes, and can only be kept at their work by deep and continued potations of the 'fire-water.' They gulp deep draughts of the stimulating fluid, and, reeling to their tasks, hold their noses with one hand, while with the other they grasp the spade, heave on the mould, and rush back to the bottle to gulp again. It is a jolly time with these ebon laborers, and with their white co-workers, as thoughtless and as jolly, and full as much intoxicated as themselves.

"And thus, what with the songs and obscene jests of the grave-diggers, the buzzing of the flies, the sing-song cries of the huxter-women vending their confections, the hoarse oaths of the men who drive the dead carts, the merry whistle of the boys, and the stifling reek from scores of blackened corpses, the day wears apace, the work of sepulture is done, and night draws the curtain."

Can all the annals of epidemics furnish a more appalling description than the above? What a medley of death, misery, woe, vice, and utter thoughtlessness and indifference, to even the most horrid things in life, does it present! Shakspeare's jesting grave-diggers are as nothing to these grave-yard scenes enacted in New-Orleans in 1853.

During the epidemic, the streets of New-Orleans presented nothing but scenes of misery, disease and death. The King of Terrors had full sway. Hearses were constantly passing, with hot haste through all the principal streets; and carts, wagons, and cabs, filled with the sick going to the hospitals, met the passer-by at every step. Many died in carriages on their way to the hospitals; and the verdict, "Died of yellow fever while going in a cart to the hospital," was a common announcement in the newspapers. Many were found dead in their beds, in stores, in the streets, and in other places. Crime was very prevalent, if we may judge from the lengthened police reports in the journals; and a moral epidemic, terminating in suicide, seemed to prevail. We will relate a single instance. The *Bulletin*, of August 9th, says:

"An aged Frenchman, who had been an officer under Napoleon, and who arrived at this city with his wife about three weeks ago, fired two pistol shots into his mouth, and subsequently stabbed himself. He resided with his wife in the upper story of a house on Chartres-street, and under the impression that she was about to die of yellow fever, he determined that he would not be left behind her. He lingered for several hours, but we understood that both husband and wife died last night."

On the 10th of August, the Board of Health reported 223 deaths for that day, of which 184 were from yellow fever. The clamors, now, about the filth of the streets, were louder than ever. The *Pica-yune*, of the 11th of August, joins in the universal complaint, thus:

"Notwithstanding the frequent, the universal complaints, we do not see

that the contractors for cleaning the streets attend any more faithfully to their duties than before. The Board of Health required all offal from houses to be deposited before the street doors at 6 o'clock in the morning; but the carts do not pass at that hour, or anything like that hour, to carry off these deposits. Surely these contractors are a hard-headed, hard-hearted, opinionated, selfish set of men. We should like to have their names, to hold them up to public scorn and indignation. They deserve some severe punishment for their delinquencies, so repeated and so perverse, and we would be delighted to assist in bringing this about. We, in the prospect of big heaps of mud now and for the last two weeks before our own office door, only hope that these contractors may make no money by their bargains, and that each of them may some dark night fall into a gutter head foremost, something like that we saw yesterday in Dauphin-street, near Bienville. That's all."

Some denounced the Mayor—others the Councils—others the Board of Health, and others all of them. The poor Mayor shared the vituperations of all parties. The *Courier* attempted to uphold the Councils against the universal denunciations of the people, while all its vials of wrath were constantly being poured out on the devoted head of the Whig Mayor. The French editors join in the boisterous chorus of complaint, introducing a new element, which they declared was not less to be feared than the filth of the streets and the putrid exhalations from the grave-yards; namely, the swarms of medicasters, empirics, charlatans, Raspailists, homœopathists, Indian doctors, &c., &c., who filled the city and the newspapers with their nostrums and lying placards, professing to be able to cure the most virulent cases of yellow fever.*

What became of the \$10,000 given to the Board of Health for the purpose of cleaning the streets, it is difficult to say; but it is certain, from the complaints of all parties, that the Board of Health did not clean the streets.

The frightful pestilence continued. On the 11th of August, 203 persons died of yellow fever. On the 13th of August, the Board of Health reported for the week 1,494 deaths, of which 1,262, were from yellow fever, or 180 daily, on an average. During the same week 262 died of yellow fever in the Charity Hospital. In Algiers, on the

* *Le Courier*, of August 11th, says:—"Ajoutez à tous ces éléments de mort un autre qui n'est pas moins à craindre; nous voulons parler de cette classe que fait pulluler toute épidémie, médicastres, empiriques, charlatans, qu'ils s'intitulent Raspailistes, homœopathes, médecins indiens, &c., &c. ! Tout est calculé pour activer ou prolonger le fléau qui dévore notre population. Si on regarde en haut, là où le zèle et la vigilance devraient toujours être en éveil, que voit-on ? Un fantôme d'autorité qui à toutes les misères, à toutes les plaintes répond : Repassez demain ! Des centaines de cadavres sont exposées dans les différents cimetières sans inhumation, et le maire n'en est informé que lorsque les exhalaisons qui se dégagent de ces corps en putréfaction répandent l'alarme dans les quatre coins de la ville. Deux cents victimes succombent journellement, le maire ne s'en émeut aucunement. La peste est à nos portes, le maire ne s'en préoccupe pas plus que de la révolution chinoise ou de la question d'Orient."

In justice to the homœopathists, we add the following :

"Voici notre premier cadavre.... rue Mandeville, encoignure Craps. Sur cinquante malades atteints de l'épidémie régnante, que nous avons eu à traiter, quarante sont parfaitement guéris, sept sont en voie de guérison assurée, deux sont encore gravement malades, ils n'ont pas de passé la première période, le dernier est mort dans la seconde phase de sa fièvre.

"DR. TAXIL, Practicien Homœopathe."

opposite side of the river, with a population of only about 1 600, the ravages of the pestilence were equally great. During the week, 42 died there from yellow fever.

The weather in New-Orleans continued to be very extraordinary. The *Delta*, of the 17th of August, says :

"We have had rain every day now for more than two months, and there is no indication of a cessation. To it, we think, may be attributed, in a great measure, the virulence which distinguishes the epidemic of this summer from the visitations of other seasons. In fact, we have been informed that, during previous visitations of the yellow fever, the weather has always been remarkably dry and sultry. The day before yesterday, in a visit to the suburbs, we found some of the streets utterly impassable. The water, in some places, was running out of vacant lots over the sidewalks; and we learn that it is almost impossible for the hearses to get to some of the cemeteries, because of the muddy condition of the streets and roads. Yesterday we had another deluging rain, and it needs no prophet to foresee that more is coming."

The next day the same journal adds:—"The weather last night was so cool as to require additional coverlids for beds, and the closing of doors and windows. The epidemic suffers no abatement; but there are no signs of any perceptible increase." This was an error of the *Delta*, for two days afterwards, on the 20th, the Board of Health reported 1,534 deaths for the week, of which 1,302 were from yellow fever, or 186 per day on an average.

On the 19th of August, the Board of Health resolved to leave nothing untried to purify the atmosphere and drive away the pestilence, ordered 400 discharges from the six-pounders of Major Galley's artillery to be made daily, in the public squares of the city, until further orders; and that large quantities of tar be scattered throughout the streets and set on fire. It was also ordered to be burned in the cemeteries; which gave rise to the ridiculous rumor, telegraphed all over the Union, "that sufficient laborers could not be had to dig the graves, and that the authorities had resorted to burning the bodies."

On the 20th of August, the Howard Association found the pressure of the still increasing epidemic so great, that they were compelled to open four new hospitals. All the public schools having been closed during the epidemic, the Association obtained for one of them the use of the Washington School-House, a large two-story building, with extensive corridors, in Magazine-street. A portion of the same building was also used as an asylum for the orphan children, whose parents had been carried off by the epidemic.

On the 20th, the *Bee* comments on the table of mortality, for the day, as a frightful record. "Two hundred and forty-two deaths for one day, and 219 of yellow fever!" The *Bee* adds:

"We are certainly discouraged at this appalling expose. When and where will the fever end? If the mortality remains undiminished, while the population daily decreases, and after so many thousands have perished, and so many more have passed through the ordeal of the scourge, it seems indubitable that its malignity must be greater than ever. If, for example, when there were 50,000 unacclimated persons in our city, the deaths averaged 200 a day, now that one-half that number have had the fever, died or recovered, or have fled from the city, a corresponding ratio of mor-

tality ought not to average more than 100 per diem. Yet the deaths are absolutely quite as numerous, and relatively far more so.

"This is undeniably sound logic. Nobody will pretend that there are as many subjects for yellow fever in our city now, as there were one month ago. The material has been largely reduced, yet the epidemic carries off daily the same number of victims. For ourselves, we have given up speculating. The characteristics that mark the present visitation baffle all reasoning founded upon past experience and observation. We think it altogether probable, that the fever will not disappear until all the unacclimated have been attacked—or until a spell of cold weather cuts it suddenly short. If we are mistaken, so much the better."

The firing of cannon was found to be injurious to the sick, many of them being thrown into convulsions by it. On the 20th of August the Mayor ordered it to be discontinued, the burning of tar being still recommended. It is possible that the firing of the cannon, and the burning of the tar, had a positive and salutary effect. The order to fire the cannon and burn tar was given and carried into effect on the evening of the 18th of August, and was continued two days, the order to cease being given on the morning of the 20th. Two days afterwards, the 23d, a notable decline was witnessed in the epidemic, the deaths from yellow fever falling from 254 on the 22d to 234 on the 23d. It continued to decrease rapidly, as will be seen by the following table which we take from the *N. O. Commercial Bulletin*:

"For the purpose of reference, and to show at a glance the extent and progress of the disease since its first appearance among us, we give the following table, carefully corrected from the daily official reports:

Corrected statement of the reports of the interments in all the Cemeteries of the City, from the 22d of May.

Yel. fev. Oth. dis. Tot.				Yel. fev. Oth. dis. Total.			
Week ending May 28.....	1.....	139.....	140.....	Daily—August 29.....	128.....	15.....	143.....
.. June 4.....	1.....	141.....	142.....	.. 30.....	125.....	14.....	139.....
.. .. 11.....	4.....	150.....	154.....	.. 31.....	110.....	27.....	137.....
.. .. 18.....	7.....	140.....	147.....	September 1.....	103.....	16.....	119.....
.. .. 25.....	9.....	158.....	167.....	.. 2.....	110.....	23.....	133.....
.. July 2.....	25.....	152.....	177.....	.. 3.....	96.....	20.....	116.....
.. .. 9.....	50.....	129.....	188.....	.. 4.....	95.....	15.....	110.....
.. .. 16.....	204.....	140.....	344.....	.. 5.....	79.....	26.....	98.....
.. .. 23.....	429.....	188.....	617.....	.. 6.....	70.....	25.....	95.....
.. .. 31.....	692.....	192.....	884.....	.. 7.....	53.....	17.....	70.....
Daily—August 1.....	117.....	25.....	142.....	.. 8.....	52.....	7.....	59.....
.. 2.....	121.....	14.....	135.....	.. 9.....	47.....	17.....	64.....
.. 3.....	129.....	17.....	146.....	.. 10.....	61.....	19.....	80.....
.. 4.....	151.....	15.....	166.....	.. 11.....	48.....	20.....	68.....
.. 5.....	141.....	9.....	150.....	.. 12.....	40.....	15.....	55.....
.. 6.....	208.....	30.....	238.....	.. 13.....	28.....	10.....	47.....
.. 7.....	169.....	40.....	209.....	.. 14.....	35.....	10.....	45.....
.. 8.....	204.....	24.....	228.....	.. 15.....	33.....	10.....	52.....
.. 9.....	172.....	20.....	192.....	.. 16.....	32.....	10.....	51.....
.. 10.....	191.....	33.....	224.....	.. 17.....	26.....	21.....	47.....
.. 11.....	204.....	14.....	218.....	.. 18.....	30.....	15.....	45.....
.. 12.....	182.....	25.....	207.....	.. 19.....	23.....	11.....	34.....
.. 13.....	192.....	22.....	214.....	.. 20.....	35.....	14.....	49.....
.. 14.....	206.....	20.....	226.....	.. 21.....	17.....	21.....	38.....
.. 15.....	187.....	26.....	213.....	.. 22.....	20.....	14.....	34.....
.. 16.....	174.....	19.....	193.....	.. 23.....	16.....	12.....	28.....
.. 17.....	198.....	21.....	219.....	.. 24.....	19.....	22.....	34.....
.. 18.....	197.....	22.....	219.....	.. 25.....	16.....	19.....	35.....
.. 19.....	219.....	15.....	234.....	.. 26.....	17.....	23.....	40.....
.. 20.....	195.....	29.....	224.....	.. 27.....	14.....	19.....	38.....
.. 21.....	245.....	24.....	269.....	.. 28.....	14.....	15.....	29.....
.. 22.....	254.....	29.....	283.....	.. 29.....	13.....	22.....	35.....
.. 23.....	224.....	24.....	248.....	.. 30.....	11.....	5.....	16.....
.. 24.....	199.....	25.....	224.....	October 1.....	15.....	16.....	31.....
.. 25.....	199.....	10.....	218.....	.. 2.....	6.....	5.....	11.....
.. 26.....	164.....	29.....	193.....	.. 3.....	8.....	9.....	17.....
.. 27.....	159.....	26.....	185.....				
.. 28.....	142.....	26.....	168.....				
					8,215	2,781	10,996

The salutary effects of the firing of cannon and the burning of tar had been witnessed before in New-Orleans. The *Louisiana Courier* of August 21st, in commenting on the subject, says:

"It was tried here in the height of the pestilential cholera of 1832; and all the persons now living, who witnessed the ravages of that distemper, concur in the opinion that the salutary effects of those appliances were great and manifest. With this experience, and that of every city where the same means have been resorted to, the Board of Health cannot do wrong in repeating the experiment, and giving it a fairer chance than they have yet done. One good effect derived from it is worth all the expense that has been incurred in making it; and that is, the smoke of the burnt powder and tar, wherever it appears, is a killing dose to the mosquitoes. This fact alone is proof that the concussion and the smoke act as powerful purifiers. Let the tar burn and the cannon roar.

"Since the foregoing was in type, we learn the Mayor has resolved that the cannon shall not be fired as usual—the Mayor has so determined from regard to the feelings of the sick; and the Mayor is right for this time."

From the preceding table it will be seen that the 22d of August was the most fatal day during the epidemic, 254 having died on that day of yellow fever! At this stage of the pestilence, the stoutest hearts quailed at the horrid work of death that was going on around them. Never had there been witnessed anything on this continent equal to it. The ravages of the cholera at St. Louis were nothing compared to this. Nor were the great plagues in London in 1606 and 1665 as fatal, in proportion to the number of inhabitants. But when we look over the history of plagues in the Old World, we see that this of New-Orleans, in 1853, was merciful compared to those of former ages. During the time of Justinian a plague lasted for fifty-two years, and Gibbon computes the entire mortality at one hundred millions. At Constantinople ten thousand died daily.

During the middle ages, the plague swept over Europe, several times, with frightful violence. Boccaccio has left a vivid narrative of its appearance at Florence, about the middle of the fourteenth century. It bore the name of the "Black Death," and closely resembled the old plague of Athens. Visiting England, it swept off fifty thousand inhabitants of London alone, though the British capital had not, at that time, probably more than two hundred thousand inhabitants. Fifty years later the plague appeared again in London, when thirty thousand persons perished of it within a twelvemonth. In 1517, an epidemic called the "Sweating Sickness," broke out in Europe, and extending to England, deprived the principal towns, according to Stowe, of half of their inhabitants. In 1603, nearly forty thousand persons died of plague in London. About the same period, Constantinople is said to have lost two hundred thousand of its inhabitants by the same disease.

Other pestilences, since the London one of 1665, have been very fatal. In 1720, 60,000 persons perished at Marseilles, or quite half of the population. In Egypt, Syria, and Barbary, the mortality from plague has frequently trebled, and even quadrupled, the present mortality at New-Orleans. In the Great Plague, London lost 100,000 of her inhabitants, or one-third of those who stayed to encounter the pestilence.

During the whole of the epidemic of the past summer, not only the Howard Association, but many other associations of the city, were indefatigable in their exertions to afford relief, facing death in all its awful forms. The Firemen's Associations were exceedingly active; and particularly the Masons and Odd Fellows, thus carrying out to the very letter the noble principles of their orders, even at the risk of their lives. The clergy, too, were equally industrious and devoted, nursing the sick and administering consolation to the dying, night and day. The *Picayune* of the 19th of August thus alludes to their labors and sufferings:

"Our clergy are not wanting in their duty to their flocks. Those who are well have notified where they can be found: a Protestant clergyman up town has been for some days very ill with the yellow fever, but is now, we believe, convalescent; the Rev. Mr. Aylward, of the Church of St. Theresa, and the Rev. Mr. Moynihan, of St. Peter's, Catholic clergymen, are under its influence; and the Rev. J. E. Blin, of St. Augustin's, on the Bayou Road, has died of it. The majority of the general patients are of the Catholic persuasion, and their pastors have a very trying time of it. The Rev. Mr. Whittall, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, we believe, has signalized himself by his incessant devotion to the sick of the Third District."

The Rev. Mr. Dobbs and his wife, of the Jackson-street Church, both fell victims to the epidemic. Many that were away from the city returned, in the very height of the epidemic, to lend their aid. The names of the Rev. Dr. W. A. Scott, Mr. I. J. Henderson, Mr. N. G. North, Mr. Twitchell, the Rev. Dr. Clapp, and many others, deserve to be mentioned.

The 21st of August* was called, in New-Orleans, "*The Black Day.*" The *Delta* of the 23d has the following:

"THE BLACK DAY.

"The twenty-four hours from 6 o'clock, A. M. on Saturday, till 6 o'clock on Sunday, the 21st, constitute the blackest day in the gloomy annals of the fearful pestilence which has desolated our city. It is, we trust, the maximum point of our calamity. The reported deaths for this period, were 269, of which 230 were of yellow fever, and 15 are not stated. To this, the *Crescent* adds 28, which are reported to have been interred in St. Patrick's, without certificates, and 18 in the Hebrew Cemeteries, Nos. 1 and 2, from which no reports had been received up to the making up of the returns of the Board of Health. This would make a total of 315 deaths for twenty-four hours, which is more than double our usual weekly mortality, when not afflicted by an epidemic.

"Gloomy and melancholy as this statement is, we have learned from reliable sources, that there are grounds for the hope that the disease begins to decline, and that the worst is now over. We have already been cruelly disappointed in many of our estimates and hopes, in regard to this epidemic. We trust that this one, at least, may not fail."

The ravages of the pestilence were now so terrible that all were in despondency, and the journals endeavored to allay the gloom. The

* There were some discrepancies in the mortuary reports, as will be seen by comparing this with the preceding table.

Orleanian, one of the merriest journals of the South, endeavors thus to console the people :

"Many of our fellow-citizens are becoming unnecessarily appalled by the numerous deaths which the daily bulletins proclaim. This should not be, as nothing tends more effectually to engender disease than timidity. Even among the stricken, we notice that firmness and resolution are more efficacious in perfecting cures than medicine. All who are afflicted with the disease, it should be remembered, do not die; while it is only an acclimating process, through which every one, who makes the Crescent City his or her home, must anticipate, at one time or another, to pass. Again, death is the common lot of mortality; 'to-day, for you—to-morrow, for me!' Why, then, think to evade it?

"It may be as well to die now as in a score of years hence; for come the scythe-bearing summoner will, at one period or another. Fears are not only useless, but positively dangerous, and tend to kill more than that tripartite of ills, 'plague, pestilence, and famine.' Who does not recollect or know of the tale told of Death, who, on visiting a city with his presence, made a compact not to slay more than a thousand, yet the bills of mortality presented a list of eleven thousand? On being asked why he had not conformed to his promise, he replied that he had religiously done so, and slain his thousand, but that the panic had added a tithe more to the number! The foregoing, although allegorical, we make no question, is, nevertheless, veritable."

The scenes in the grave-yards at this time begged all description. The dead bodies accumulated so fast, and the men employed in burying were so few, that quarrelling actually arose in the cemeteries among those bringing the bodies of their friends for interment, as to which should be buried first. Unwilling to await their turn, many fell to work, buried their own dead, and broke down the palings surrounding the cemetery for stakes to place at the head and foot of the graves.*

Loud complaints were made that the sextons did not report all the interments. The truth of those complaints is confirmed by the following paragraph, which we find in the *Daily Delta* of the 21st of August. The editor says:

"We visited last evening the various cemeteries on the Ridge, and regret to report a fearful increase of the mortality as exhibited in the burials in these cemeteries. We found all the cemeteries in good order, with the exception of St. Patrick's. The officer on duty informed us that the fence wants repairing, as cattle are now found in the cemetery every morning, and they have trampled on the new-made graves. One of the sextons informed us that some parties pull up the pickets of the fence and bury their dead without a certificate or any account being taken."

The following from the facetious *Orleanian* of August 23d—it is, however, too often out of season—exhibits an awful state of things. Think of a woman burying the dead!—

"Complaints, not alone of the confusion and irregularity existing in the Cemetery of St. Patrick, but of the neglect of the sexton to make regular and correct returns, are frequent. Some time ago, these things might be visited with deserved censure; but, just now, when all is difficulty and

* *Daily Delta*, August 21.

death—when delays and embarrassments are experienced everywhere, reproaches are out of place and denunciations unjust. We think, too, it would be asking too much of the sexton, that he should, from that *bourne* to which he has departed, issue diurnal bulletins of the mortality, and in round numbers give the returns of the interments to the Board of Health. Great allowances must be made at the present time for derelictions, when not too flagrant and glaring.

"It appears that the wife of the sexton has assumed the duties of her defunct husband, and in the *grave* business, is assisted by two nephews. She must be an heroic and industrious woman, to undertake, at a time of such sweeping devastation, so labrious and difficult a task; a task from which all have fled—even the very negroes. The public authorities should remedy with all promptness the abandonment—as the trustees, or those on whom the responsibility rested, have shown themselves inadequate to it.

"On Sunday evening, Aug. 20th, we are informed that parties who accompanied a funeral from the Third District to St. Patrick's, discovered that there was not a single person on the ground to dig graves, and not having the implements for doing so themselves, they sought around and perceived a tomb, the entrance to which was partially broken, and into it, as a dernier resort, not being able, in such an emergency, to do aught else, they thrust the defunct."

We must here close our details of the epidemic in New-Orleans, to pursue its ravages in the South generally.

In the precipitate flight of the inhabitants from New-Orleans, carrying with them the seeds of the disease, hundreds perished on the way, or were attacked soon after landing at their places of destination. Almost every steamer that left the plague-stricken city deposited its dead, sick, and dying along the shores of the Gulf, the Mississippi, Red and other rivers. Consequently, in all of the principal towns approached by steamers, cases of yellow fever appeared soon after it became epidemic at New-Orleans. The *Louisiana Courier* of the 8th of September says:

"During a flying trip along the coast on Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday last, we ascertained that the yellow fever is prevailing, or exists, in almost every town between New-Orleans and Bayou Sara. The *Ledger* of the latter place, published on the 3d, denies that the disease existed there. We were there on the 5th, at which time it was acknowledged that at least one case had originated in the town, and would certainly terminate fatally. At Plaquemine, there are numerous cases of fever, and also at Donaldsonville. Baton Rouge is afflicted with a considerable amount of sickness. There are doubts expressed whether the prevailing disease is yellow fever; but as it takes off five or six a day, it is probably just as bad. We learn also that the fever has been very severe at Trenton, on the Ouachita, where there were 17 deaths in one day. The accounts from Thibodaux, published by us yesterday, are sufficiently indicative of the melancholy state of affairs existing there. Thus far, therefore, yellow fever has manifested itself in the following places besides New-Orleans:—Mobile, Pascagoula, Biloxi, Pass Christian, Bay St. Louis, Pensacola, Donaldsonville, Madisonville, Plaquemine, Covington, Baton Rouge, Bayou Sara, Natchez, Woodville, Port Gibson, Grand Gulf, Vicksburg, Trenton and Thibodaux."

The accounts from Thibodauxville, alluded to above, were the following:

"The following endorsement was written on the mail bill from Thibodaux, September 2, which arrived here yesterday: 'Stores closed—town abandoned

—151 cases of yellow fever—twenty-two deaths—Postmaster absent—Clerks all down with the fever.'

"The dreadful news from Thibodauxville is confirmed in all its details. In fact, the real state of affairs there is more disastrous than the previous accounts made out to be. We are now informed, on good authority, that the town is in a great measure deserted by its inhabitants, all business is suspended, most of the people remaining are sick, 22 deaths in one day, and 160 new cases. This town is situated at a considerable distance from the Mississippi, down the Bayou Lafourche."

According to accounts—and the Southern papers are filled with them—the yellow fever was quite as malignant in all the towns of the interior where it appeared as in New-Orleans, if not more so. At Thibodauxville, Natchez, Baton Rouge, Vicksburg, Bayou Sara, and at almost every other place where it appeared, it seems to have swept off more people, in proportion to the population, than in New-Orleans, probably owing to the fact, that medical aid in those places could not be obtained sufficiently early after the attack. The aspect of the disease in those places is described as most hideous and appalling, as well as in the places along the Gulf shore, between New-Orleans and Mobile. At the latter place it made its appearance early after it broke out at New-Orleans, and raged violently during the months of September and October. It extended far into the interior of Mississippi, and raged fearfully at Jackson, the capital of the State. It passed over into Texas, decimated Galveston, Houston, and other places, and visited places in which it never appeared before. It seems to select no particular localities of the South, but to rage equally in the clean and the unclean—as well on the high, clean, and airy heights of Baton Rouge and Vicksburg, and even in the delightful pine regions of Woodville, as in the filthy streets of New-Orleans. The truth is, that nothing—absolutely nothing—is known of its cause, although it has been studied attentively for more than a century, with all the aids that modern science could afford.

Natchez was the first on the Mississippi, after New-Orleans, where the disease, this year, became epidemic. One thing appears to be pretty certain, namely, that the course of the disease from New-Orleans, where it in all probability originated spontaneously, was along the various steamboat routes leading from that city in almost every direction. On Red River it raged at Alexandria, Natchitoches, Grand Ecore and Shreveport, with its accustomed virulence, the people flying in every direction before it as it advanced. It also appeared in many towns far from the river, in the interior, quite unconnected with navigation.

We cannot close this paper without referring once more to the labors of the Howard Association of New-Orleans. As soon as the fever had abated in that city, the members of that Association flew to the aid of the sick in the country, visiting, we believe, all of the principal places where the disease was raging, lending their valuable aid to all. If benevolent acts can immortalize, assuredly the Howard Association will go down on the pages of the history of our country as long as history continues to be written. Nor must we forget to mention the promptitude with which all parts of the Union rose to

send aid to the distressed and dying of New-Orleans. The horrors of the epidemic made every heart in the Union thrill with sympathy, and meetings were simultaneously called in many places to collect money to send to the aid of the Howard Association in their work of love and kindness. As we have no room for further details, we give the following table of the donations which have been contributed responsive to the call of the sufferers, and presume that the aggregate will not vary much from the actual amount which has been received by the Howard Association:—

New-York.....	\$52,585	Lynchburg, Va.....	\$1,200
New-Orleans.....	38,500	Natchez, Miss.....	1,200
Philadelphia.....	20,111	Brooklyn.....	1,076
Cincinnati.....	14,000	Newport, R. I.....	1,023
Charleston.....	10,840	Norfolk, Va.....	1,000
Boston.....	10,500	W. Sulphur Springs, Va.....	885
Baltimore.....	10,675	New-Haven.....	800
St. Louis.....	7,243	Bladen Springs, Fla.....	753
Pittsburg.....	5,747	Montgomery, Ala.....	770
Louisville.....	4,494	Petersburg, Va.....	698
Chicago.....	4,335	Pass Christian, La.....	605
Savannah.....	3,624	Adams County, Miss.....	500
Washington.....	3,500	Macon, Ga.....	500
Nashville.....	3,261	Newark, N. J.....	450
Richmond, Va.....	2,595	Saratoga Springs.....	370
Providence.....	2,500	Baton Rouge, La.....	772
Mobile.....	1,800	Mississippi City.....	272
Cleveland.....	1,600	Portland, Ky.....	231
Wilmington, N. C.....	1,784	Jefferson, La.....	200
Jersey City.....	2,000	Enfield, Conn.....	200
Augusta, Ga.....	1,525	Sandusky City.....	120
Memphis.....	1,400		
New Albany, Ia.....	1,325	Total.....	\$218,798
Columbia, S. C.....	1,229		

A great many subscriptions have been sent from various parts of the country by individuals and societies directly to the President of the Howard Association, which are not included in the above, and of which we have no reliable data, but they probably will amount to no less a sum than \$15,000, which will make the total subscriptions for the New-Orleans sufferers amount to two hundred and thirty-three thousand seven hundred and ninety-eight dollars.*

The donations for Mobile, up to September 16, were as follows:

New-York.....	\$9,232
Mobile.....	6,500
Boston.....	2,000
New-Orleans.....	1,800
Total.....	\$21,032

Up to the 15th of October the fever continued its ravages in nearly all the towns of the South. Though we have not half exhausted our subject, we close here with the following table from the *Picayune* of the 16th of October, which is the official account up to the 15th of October:

"The table of the total interments, since the first yellow fever case

* New-York Herald.

was reported as terminating fatally, is as follows. It includes those deaths by yellow fever which were certified to as such by the physician:

"Week ending on Saturday, at 6 A. M.—

	Total.	Yel. Fever.		Total.	Yel. Fever.
May 23.....	140.....	1	Aug. 20.....	1534.....	1302
June 4.....	142.....	1	Aug. 27.....	1628.....	1365
June 11.....	154.....	4	Sept. 3.....	955.....	749
June 18.....	147.....	7	Sept. 10.....	576.....	421
June 25.....	167.....	9	Sept. 17.....	365.....	221
July 2.....	177.....	25	Sept. 24.....	263.....	125
July 9.....	188.....	59	Oct. 1.....	219.....	85
July 16.....	344.....	204	Oct. 8.....	139.....	42
July 23.....	617.....	429	Oct. 15.....	79.....	29
July 30.....	723.....	555			
Aug. 6.....	1134.....	947	Total.....	11,179.....	7,942
Aug. 13.....	1494.....	1262			

Cases in the last eleven weeks of the table in which the causes of death were not stated.....

Of these, six-sevenths for yellow fever.....

Total of deaths by the fever since the week ending May 23.....

The history of the awful epidemic of 1853, we trust, will soon be given to the world in all its details. A commission has been appointed for that purpose in New-Orleans. We hope they will give us all of the facts, out of which we can form our own theory. They are the men competent to do it. The name of Axson is alone sufficient to give character and rank to the commission. That of Barton is equally big. The public await with anxiety the results.

Bad as things are and have been, we believe there is a future for New-Orleans which will make amends for her past sufferings, and that when her citizens are indeed awakened to their true position, and take the steps which prudence and science dictate, nothing will intervene to prevent the city from maintaining her high rank of metropolis of the South and the West. May the day be hastened on.

A committee of the Board of Aldermen, on the recommendation of the medical faculty, and particularly of Drs. Axson, Wedderstrandt, Le Monnier, and McCormick, propose for the city,

1. A system of underground drainage.
2. To purchase and enlarge the water-works, so as to afford a plentiful supply of water to every square in the city.
3. To pave the streets with square blocks of stone, or with any hard material that will present a smooth and even surface, and thus prevent the accumulation and deposit of filth, and enable the streets most easily to be kept clean.
4. To establish a system of cheap bathing houses, and also public washing and ironing establishments, (at rates so reasonable as to be available to all,) upon the system found so eminently successful in New-York and London.
5. By continuing the drainage of the low lands around the city until completed.

An ordinance has also been carefully prepared, creating a Health^h Department for the whole city, with a Health Officer to be elected^d

for two years, and to receive a salary of \$6,000. Such assistants as may require are also to be created, and to be well paid.

The Hon. A. D. Crossman, Mayor of New-Orleans, in a message to the Council, of the date 18th October, thus pays a due meed of praise to the humanities which were exercised by the citizens during the plague:—

"In offering this feeble testimonial to the signal merits and services of the Association, I must be permitted to add that their endeavors were warmly seconded by every citizen. In the midst of the great distress, every one obeyed with alacrity the call of suffering humanity, and contributed his share towards the mitigation of the general evil. And it may safely be asserted that under equally trying circumstances, no community displayed a greater degree of fortitude, and a more cool, resolute and cheerful courage. Even when the mortality had reached a point that might have well appalled the stoutest heart, there was no faltering and no despondency; and though the countenance of every citizen reflected the gloom from without, there was not even the semblance of a panic. This much it may be due to say, in justice to the reputation of our city, which, at a period when no one should have exaggerated the horrors of a fearful calamity, was assailed abroad in a wanton and unprovoked manner. I am happy, however, to say, that this was the exception only, and not the rule, and I should not have alluded to the subject, were it not thus formally and officially to correct the impression that may still prevail in some quarters, and even during the period of the greatest mortality, the rights of sepulture were not performed with due decorum and decency."

Dr. Halphen of New-Orleans, in a report translated for and printed in Fenner's Medical Reports, vol. 1, p. 134, says that the mortality in the city during the cholera of 1832, reached as high some days as 500 persons, and in twenty days destroyed 6,000 persons; and in referring to the same epidemic, Col. Wagner says, and with his remark we close this already too extended paper:

"The pestilence that rages in the midst of us is dreadful in itself, without reading the addition of horrors not appertaining to it. We have witnessed epidemic yellow fever more generally prevalent in this city, more fatal in its attacks, and destroying a greater number of lives in proportion to the amount of population. The cholera of 1832, when the city of New-Orleans had not half of its present extent, either in territory or inhabitants, killed off five hundred, six hundred, and as high as seven hundred persons every twenty-four hours, for a series of several days. In truth, it was believed at the time by intelligent citizens, that one-third of those who died were not counted in the list of interments. The living could not or would not bury the dead. It is well known that many dead bodies were cast into the river, or buried in private grounds, adjacent to the spot where they breathed their last. These are facts which can be easily authenticated. What then? Here is New Orleans, as large as life, at least twice as large as it was twenty-one years ago, when the cholera was down upon us."

ART. V.—THE EFFECT OF DROUGHT UPON RICE LAND.

SEASONS of drought are always calculated to arouse the fears, and awaken the attention of our rice planters—especially those on certain rivers, who frequently suffer from this cause—many losing their entire crops. Interest, if no other motive, should direct the planters to seek and apply every means, that may in any measure tend to obviate such disastrous results, which cannot but end in embarrassments of various natures.

If fresh water be furnished, in sufficient quantity, there is no apprehension as to what the result of the crops will be; but this not being under our control, we become subject to the variable nature of the seasons, at one time making an abundant crop, at another time losing every ear of rice. Want of water has been considered the sole cause of all this evil. But we ought to look farther into the matter; and it is for this reason that attention is called to the following statement of facts connected with the subject.

The mere deficiency of water cannot *alone* be the direct cause of that complete destruction attending many of the crops; for rice planted upon sandy high-land, (a rice differing but little from that planted in the swamps), yield eight, ten, or even more bushels to the acre, and that too during an ordinary season. This I know to be a fact, having among other instances seen it several summers ago in the north-western part of Georgia; and besides, the inefficiently watered rice-fields of the Nile afford another example, on an extended scale. But the fact is, there is no necessity of going to Egypt to look for this; for with us, not a year passes without rice growing on spots that water never reaches, except in the form of rain. It being admitted, as it must be, that the *mere deficiency* of water cannot be the only cause of the complete annihilation of any crop of rice; we must look to some other effects produced by a drought, than that of depriving the rice of a certain amount of moisture. To discover what this is, has been my effort for some time past, and it *has* been attended with some success, both as to the effect, as well as to the means by which to correct it, to an extent more or less great, according to the peculiarities of the different soils, and the dryness of the season.

In all of our swamp lands there exists, in more or less abundance, a substance called pyrites, which is composed of sulphur and iron. This fact any one may make himself acquainted with, by burning a portion of the soil, when the well-known odor of burnt sulphur will be at once perceptible; there may also be a small portion of sulphur uncombined with iron, arising from the vegetable matter, of which it originally formed a constituent

part. Whether this be the case or not, it is a matter of little importance, as the first substance mentioned (the pyrites) is sufficient of itself to explain what follows.

This pyrite is constantly undergoing a decomposition, and combining with one of the elements of air and water, forming sulphuric acid and oxide of iron. At first these two substances are in combination, under the form of the well-known salt copperas, which in its turn is either wholly or in part decomposed by alumina, and a species of alum is formed. It would be useless to go into a minute explanation of how these changes are produced; it is sufficient, in order to be understood, to have it known, that the decomposition of the pyrites gives rise directly to the formation of copperas, and indirectly to that of a species of alum; *these results are poisonous to vegetation, and their formation is unavoidable.*

During all seasons, and in all soils, there is either a descent or an ascent of moisture—the one happening in wet seasons, or just after a rain, and the other in seasons of drought. In the former case, (a wet season,) the roots of the plants imbibe nothing but fresh water; while in the latter, (a dry season,) they are affected by whatever impurities the sub-water may bring along with it to the surface. If the ingredients brought up in solution are innocuous or nutritious, the plants flourish; if noxious, they are either injured or killed.

What has just been stated is applicable to the rice-field; for if we are furnished with a sufficiency of such water as may be applied to the land, the surface can be kept moister than the subsoil, and there will consequently be a tendency of the water to pass from the surface below, and in its passage, meeting with the copperas and alum, dissolves them and carries them farther from the roots of the plants. If the case be reversed, as during a dry season, when the water is too low, or too brackish to be let on the fields, and the surface becomes parched and dry, then it is in the subsoil that the water preponderates, and owing to the capillary action of the soil, (a property common to all porous bodies,) there will be an ascent of moisture towards the surface, which will bring along with it the copperas and alum in solution, the effects of which are so pernicious to vegetation.

It requires no scientific investigation, or chemical analyses, to prove that this takes place in the way mentioned; a little observation can convince any one of the fact; for if we taste a little of the soil a day or two after the water has been drawn off, it will be found tasteless; on the contrary, if the same soil be tasted after a season of drought, a sweetish styptic taste is apparent. In fact, in many fields, after a long drought, the salts in question will make themselves visible on the surface, in the form of a whitish efflorescence; in other cases, spots of almost pure

iron rust are discoverable, arising from the decomposition of the copperas.

The ditch water of the rice-field is subject to the same changes, almost invariably containing copperas during a dry season, or after being allowed to stand any length of time; a few oak-leaves bruised, suffice to test the fact, by being added to a cup of the water, which becomes more or less blackened according to the amount of iron present. The ditch water also contains gypsum, which exists in the soil; it being formed from the decomposition of the copperas and alum by the natural lime of the soil.

The important facts then to be looked to are, first, the presence of copperas and alum in more or less abundance in many of our swamp lands; secondly, the injurious effects of these salts upon vegetation; and thirdly, their appearance at or near the surface in dry seasons. This necessarily leads to the inquiry as to whether there is a remedy to this evil.

It is beyond our control to arrest the formation of these salts; but fortunately, we are not without the means of modifying their action near the surface, where the roots of the plant are seeking nutriment; and to this I would call special attention, as to know the cause of the disease, without the remedy, although it may be of interest to men of science, is certainly of none to farmers; in fact, such a knowledge is sometimes worse than ignorance.

Much may be done by attending both to the culture of the rice and the application of certain substances to the soil; however, only those remedies will be alluded to that can readily be applied, commencing with the least important.

1st. By attending properly to the ditches and quarter ditches, making them in many cases deeper, thus draining more thoroughly that portion of the land above their level, and thereby preventing the water from below rising so readily to the surface.

2d. Frequent overflowing of the land (while not under culture), and change of the water, will carry away the noxious salts of the soil, by first dissolving them; it is not meant to recommend here, that the flows shall *immediately* succeed each other, but it would be well that a certain space of time should elapse between the respective flows; when the water is slightly affected with the salts, I do not think that any apprehension need arise about injury to the land, while not being cultivated.

The third method to be alluded to is the burning of the land, which, when dry, readily ignites and burns for some time. This acts beneficially, by decomposing the copperas and pyrites; burning is not so bad a method as might, at first sight, be supposed, for although a great deal of vegetable is destroyed, there is much that can be spared; and, moreover, the important part is not lost (the ashes), this remaining in the

soil. In many places this method could not be applied, from the deficiency of vegetable matter; but fortunately, such lands are not apt to be affected in the way before alluded to.

4th. I now come to speak of the last and most efficacious method, one (situated as we are) that renders the others superfluous; it is where a substance is applied that directly decomposes the copperas and alum—this substance nature has lavished upon us, for the very purpose, as it were, of being applied to remedy these very evils that the lands are subject to—*marl* is what is here alluded to.

It has been mentioned that gypsum is found in many of the rice-field soils, arising from the decomposition of the copperas and alum by the natural lime of the soil. But the quantity, in most cases, is too small to act upon the entire amount of these deleterious compounds. What lime we may add then, either in the form of marl or burnt lime, acts in the same way, forming gypsum by the lime combining with the acid of the copperas.

A calculation has been made as to the quantity of copperas existing in an acre of one portion of Mr. Lowndes' place on the Combahee River (land on which rice will not grow,) and what amount of lime it requires to decompose it. The result of this calculation is, that in an acre of the land, one foot deep, there are four tons of copperas, mixed with alum, and it will require, to decompose it, about four tons of burnt lime, or ten tons of marl of 75 per cent. of carbonate of lime, which is equivalent to 300 bushels of marl, allowing 75 pounds to the bushel, corresponding to about 110 bushels of burnt lime. It may be well to state, that the particular soil in question may have but few parallels with regard to the amount of these poisonous salts, and there is no doubt that, on most lands affected in this way, an application of from 50 to 100 bushels, every four or five years, would improve them most materially, and that the excess of yield would far more than redeem the expense necessary to be incurred.

It has been ascertained that those rice lands highest up the river are (as far as observation has been made) freer from copperas than those lower down, and this no doubt arises from the fact, that they are older, and have therefore undergone a more complete decomposition. If this rule prove general, the former lands will not require the same amount of marl as the latter.

I know it may be said, that marl cannot replace the necessity of water, but it may save a crop a week or a month, until nature furnishes water; and it is not too much to say, that some crops might have been saved had the fields been marled, as the rice would thus have held out longer than it did, for reasons already made known, and perhaps even until the rivers were sufficiently high and fresh to be let on to the land. I omit alto-

gether speaking of other advantages arising from the marl than those just mentioned, as it would occupy too much time and space in your pages.

Art. VI.—INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS.

PACIFIC RAILROAD; SOUTHERN ROUTE—VICKSBURG AND SHREVEPORT RAILROAD—CONVENTION OF SAVANNAH, MOBILE AND NEW-ORLEANS—CONNECTION OF CHARLESTON AND SAVANNAH, AND OF BALTIMORE AND NEW-ORLEANS—VIRGINIA RAILROADS—TEXAS RAILROADS—BALTIMORE AND OHIO RAILROAD.

SINCE the preliminary surveys for a Pacific Railroad were undertaken by the Government, we have watched anxiously for some of their probable results. From the northern routes, now surveying, we have heard but little; nor do we expect to hear anything from them that would convince any one of their superiority over the extreme southern route, which has already been proved to be quite practicable—we mean that of El Paso and New Mexico. Recent surveys of this route have revealed "the astounding fact that a belt of country, varying from ten to one hundred miles broad, extends quite across the continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific, which is so level that a railroad may be extended the whole distance without traversing a mountain range. The Pacific Railroad may be extended in an air line from Sacramento to San Diego, on this route, with as little difficulty as on an open plain. This singular feature in the surface of the continent seems to have been intended by nature for a great national thoroughfare. The great back-bone of the North American Continent seems to have been broken down on this line, to let the Pacific Railroad pass gently over it. The great chains of the Alleghanies on the east, and those of the Sierra Madre and Sierra Nevada on the west, sink down on this line to mere insulated hills; and the country slopes so gradually from the summit lands, east and west of the Mississippi, that the rivers along this line run in nearly easterly or westerly directions. On the western side of the continent, the Gila River runs almost due west, a distance of five hundred miles, and table lands south of its slope with a gradual elevation of ten or twenty feet to the mile, to the highlands, at its sources west of the Rio Grande.

From this point the country slopes, by a gradual descent almost imperceptible, through the Mesilla Valley to the plains around El Paso, and west of the river these plains gradually slope upwards to the table lands between the Pecos and this river, and those lands slope with an equally gradual descent to the valley of the Pecos. This valley is so elevated that it is but

one or two hundred feet below the general level of the table lands extending from it to the sources of the Colorado; and from the sources of that river to the Mississippi there is not a single hill or mountain range to prevent the construction of a railroad to the Mississippi, opposite Vicksburg. From this point to Savannah, railroads have already been surveyed and completed on nearly half the route; and, what is worthy of remark, these roads extend in a line almost due east from the Mississippi to the Atlantic Ocean, without penetrating an elevated range of hills or mountains."*

The Chief Engineer of the Vicksburg, Shreveport and Texas Railroad has recently made a report, from which it appears that the "location of the section of the road from Red River to the Texas line has been completed. The Engineer found fewer difficulties than he expected. For a distance of twenty miles, the location does not vary more than half a mile in length from an air line. It has but four slight curves; amount of curvature about 6,600 feet; balance on straight lines. There will be no excavations or embankments as high as thirty feet, and only 3,200 lineal feet of trestle work and fifteen culverts will be required. Titles of relinquishment to the right of way were obtained without the cost of a single cent to the company; and many of the planters have taken contracts for the clearing and grubbing, at prices considerably below the original estimates. One planter—Dr. Flourney—took the contract from the Texas line to the eastern boundary of his plantation, a distance of some eight miles, and will take his entire pay in the stock of the company. Rapid progress is being made in the road throughout its whole length, from a point opposite Vicksburg to the Texas line."† When this road is completed, one will be able to travel, by railroad, from Boston, Mass., to Texas. Less than five years will complete this great work.

The subject of connecting the cities of Savannah, Mobile, and New-Orleans by a railroad, has already been much agitated in the South. This will, undoubtedly, be soon undertaken; and, together with the New-Orleans and Opelousas road, now under contract, would form the eastern half of the great connection between the Atlantic and Pacific. If the El Paso route is the one adopted by the Government, Savannah would become the great Atlantic Depot, and San Diego the Pacific. Col. Benton will, no doubt, make a great effort to have one of the northern routes adopted; but he will not succeed. He cannot show as good a route, in the north, as that of El Paso, so far as regards grading; and as to climate, he must convince Congress that a route impeded by snows and ice one fourth of the year, is pre-

* Houston (Texas) Telegraph.

† N. O. Com. Bulletin.

ferable to one over the sunny plains of Texas, and the delightful table lands of New Mexico, before he can persuade them to abandon the southern route. Should, however, the "old man eloquent" succeed, with his fascinating rhetoric and figures, in gaining the preference for a northern route, the private enterprise of the South would take up the southern route alone, and complete the road. They are able to do it.

We are happy to see that the project of connecting the cities of Charleston and Savannah, by a railroad, is beginning to be taken up in earnest. The tide of railroad enterprise seems now to be tending strongly towards the South. The progress that railroads are now making in the South is truly wonderful. In 1821, Gen. Bernard reported the geodetic distance between Baltimore and New-Orleans to be 1,000 miles; and the route he proposed, at that time, as the best for the public mail, was the one through Washington, Lynchburg and Knoxville. On that very route, there is a continuous railroad now under construction, from Baltimore to New-Orleans. It will consist of the Baltimore and Washington Railroad; the Alexandria and Lynchburg road, about 160 miles in length, half of which is provided for; the Lynchburg and Tennessee Railroad, 209 miles in length, seventy miles in operation, the balance under contract; the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad, 110 miles in length, under construction and provided for; the Georgia and Tennessee Railroad, 120 miles in length, believed to be completed; the Charleston and Memphis Railroad is under construction and provided for; the Selma and Tennessee River Railroad, about 250 miles in length, under construction; and certain other railroad connections with New-Orleans, which are also under construction, making an aggregate distance of about 1,250 miles, or a mail time of about 48 hours between the cities of New-Orleans and Baltimore. Upon this whole line there is no heavier grade than ninety feet, in Alabama; and this, it is believed, may be obviated.

The spirit for railroad improvements seems now to be thoroughly infused into the whole South, and we hear of movements being made for new roads almost weekly. We have now before us an able address, delivered by THOMAS MAXWELL, Esq., at a Railroad Convention recently held at Elyton, Alabama, on the subject of internal improvements in that State. The arguments are forcible and conclusive, and must dispel all doubts on the subject of the utility of railroads, if any thing can. To those familiar with the railroads of the North, and who daily witness their immense utility, and the increase in the value of property which they have created, it seems a little strange that there should, at this late day, be any necessity for speeches on the utility of railroads to any part of our country. But so

it is. We regret that we are not able to transfer the whole of this valuable address of Mr. MAXWELL to our pages.

At the same Convention an address was also delivered by Judge JOHN D. PHELAN, on the same subject, which ought to be read by every citizen of Alabama. He shows clearly the immense advantage to the State that would arise from the construction of a great central north and south railroad in Alabama, having its southern terminus on the Gulf of Mexico, and its northern in the valley of the Tennessee River. He also shows that the State is able to build such a road, and how they can do it. The people have only to say the word, and it is done. We trust that no more Railroad Conventions on the subject will be necessary.

The Alexandria and Lynchburg Railroad is rapidly progressing. The rails are now being laid this side of Culpeper Court-House, and it is designed to commence laying them from Gordonsville also, provided an arrangement can be made with the Central Railroad to convey the iron over their road to Gordonsville. By the 15th of next January, the whole road from Alexandria to Gordonsville is expected to be completed.

In Texas, the railroad agitation still continues. It appears from the Texas papers, that Mr. I. Starry, one of the Directors of the Vicksburg and El Paso R. R. Company, recently addressed the citizens of Tyler on the subject of the immediate construction of the Texas road, to connect with the Vicksburg and Shreveport road, now in process of construction. The *Tyler Telegraph* states that the plan adopted is to procure subscriptions in shares of one hundred dollars each, payable in ten years, at the rate of ten per cent. annually, or ten dollars for every hundred. This subscription and the lands of the company, amounting to eight sections per mile, is to be put in pledge for the immediate loan from Northern capitalists of one million of dollars. The ten per cent. payable on the shares is simply to pay the interest on the borrowed money. The distance from the Texas line to Tyler, on an air line, is estimated at 75 miles: the road to be constructed in three years. The Directors pledge themselves that if Smith county subscribes her amount of shares, the road shall run through Smith county. Resolutions were passed pledging that county to subscribe two hundred thousand dollars.

Considerable excitement appears to prevail in certain quarters, regarding the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. It appears to be in a very flourishing condition. The receipts of the road, for freight and passengers, for the month of September last, exceeded those of September, 1852, including the Washington branch, by the sum of \$78,403 96. Taking the receipts of the

main stem above those of September last, compared with those of September, 1852, give the following result:

	Passengers.	Freights.
September, 1853,	\$48,648 93	\$190,651 48
September, 1852,	32,808 58	124,862 97
Increase,	\$15,840 35	\$65,788 31

The receipts of the road, including the Washington branch, for the year ending Sept. 30, 1853, were as follows:

	Main stem.	Washington branch.
Total for 1853,	\$2,013,826 50	390,940 33
The receipts for year ending Sept. 30, 1852, were	1,325,563 65	348,622 76
Increase,	688,262 85	42,317 57*

This certainly shows a very favorable state of its affairs, so far as receipts are concerned. We are inclined to think that its stock has been made too much the sport of the gambling bulls and bears of the stock market. Its last dividend was 7 per cent., and that of the Washington Branch, 8 per cent.

The Lexington and Maysville Railroad is now complete. It was opened throughout on Thursday, Oct. 6th, the occasion being celebrated with much spirit.

The Maysville and Big Sandy Railroad is rapidly progressing. The Company have purchased 5,500 tons of the best American manufactured iron, to be delivered early in the spring. They have also purchased eight locomotives of great power, and of the very best quality.*

Internal improvements in Virginia are making rapid progress. From the reports made to the Board of Public Works, on the 4th of Oct., it appears that contractors have commenced work on the Western division of the Covington and Ohio Railroad, and that an effort will be made to let to contract, during this year, fifty miles of the Eastern Division of that road.

The Chief Engineer of the Norfolk and Petersburg Railroad Company invites proposals until the 15th of December, for the graduation and masonry of eighty-two miles of the road, between Norfolk and Warwick Swamp, in Sussex County, Virginia.

The reports regarding the New-Orleans, Jackson and Canton railroad, are highly flattering. The whole distance, eighty-seven miles, from New-Orleans to the State line of Mississippi, says the *New-Orleans Crescent*, is already graded, except about thirteen miles of what is called crib-work, in the swamp at Pass Manchac, and these thirteen miles will be finished in about four months. The iron has already been purchased for one hundred

* Louisville Journal.

miles of road—forty miles have already been received, and the remainder will be here as soon as the crib-work is finished. The contractors are now laying the iron on the track, commencing at Pass Manchac, and running north, although of course the work cannot progress rapidly while the sickness now prevalent makes it impossible to obtain labourers in sufficient numbers. Three locomotives, a number of freight and dirt-cars, are already here, and one locomotive, with dirt or gravel cars, are already on the road.

The means of the Company are ample for carrying the work to Canton. The road between Jackson and Canton is already graded, and ready to receive the iron, which will be sent there as soon as it arrives—in December or January. The location of the road from the State line to Jackson is made; depots have been provided for at the several necessary points; and, in fact, everything promises a regular railroad communication with Canton by the close of the coming year, a distance of two hundred miles.

We observe, by the journals, that Wm. Gooding, Civil Engineer, has made a long report upon the subject of connecting the east and west portions of Chicago by a tunnel under the river. The cost will be a little under \$185,000. This tunnel is found to be necessary from the crowded state of the shipping on the river, and the immense and increasing business of the city.

Art. VII.—BOOKS.

We have the pleasure of acknowledging the receipt of the following late and valuable works from Messrs. Frank Taylor, and Taylor & Maury, Washington :

LYELL'S PRINCIPLES OF GEOLOGY: a new and entirely revised edition, published by Appleton & Co., New-York: 1853. This work, now so extensively known to the scientific world, needs no additional praise. The name of Lyell, one of the most eminent of geologists, is sufficient. The present edition, we perceive, contains many valuable additions, for which Mr. Lyell is indebted to his late visit to this country.

APPLETON'S MODERN ATLAS OF THE EARTH, 1853.—Here is another work from the prolific press of Appleton & Co., which surpasses anything of the kind that has ever appeared. It is on the plan of Butler's Ancient Atlas, in large octavo form, and contains 34 maps. Without being unwieldy in form—the too common fault of atlases—it contains all that could be desired in a universal atlas. No one should be without it.

RATIONAL HISTORY OF HALLUCINATIONS. By A. Brierre de Boismont. Lindsay & Blakiston: Philadelphia, 1853. This work, by a distinguished French

physician, is the most fascinating production of the kind that has ever appeared. It will be greedily devoured by the tens of thousands whose minds crave every thing pertaining to the marvellous and supernatural. It is, besides, a work worthy of the study of the philosopher, theologian, physician and lawyer. One of the principal propositions which the author attempts to prove, is, that hallucination is not a necessary accompaniment or symptom of insanity, but that in certain cases it may be considered as a purely physiological phenomenon.

THE LIFE OF WILLIAM PINCKNEY. By his nephew, the Rev. William Pinckney, D. D. Appleton & Co., Boston, 1853. The Life of Pinckney has been hitherto but imperfectly written, and it is the object of the present work to supply the defects of previous authors. It contains a number of Pinckney's letters that have never before been published. The style of the author is good, and the work is one which will be highly acceptable to the public.

HISTORY OF LIBERTY—THE EARLY CHRISTIANS. By Samuel Eliot. 2 vols. Little, Brown & Co., Boston, 1853. This is a work exhibiting much learning and research. As a historical work, on the history of the early Christians, and the first ages of the Christian Church, it is highly valuable and entertaining.

THE BOOK OF NATURE. Blanchard & Lea, Philad., 1853. This is a translation from the German of *Friedrich Schoedler*, Professor of Natural Sciences at Worms. It is an elementary introduction to the natural sciences; and as such, is perhaps equal to anything of the kind that has ever been attempted. Its illustrations are numerous, and render it a very attractive volume.

THE LIFE OF THE RIGHT HON. EDWARD BURKE. By *James Prior*, Esq., 2 vols. 12mo. Ticknor, Reed & Co., Boston, 1853. These are very attractive volumes, portraying the life and character of one of the greatest men of modern times. Specimens of his poetry and letters are given, together with an estimate of his genius and talents, as compared with those of his great contemporaries.

AUTOBIOGRAPHIC SKETCHES. By Thomas de Quincey. Boston; Ticknor & Co., 1853. De Quincey's writings are too well known to need further eulogy. This volume is a collection of his miscellaneous writings, now collected from the British journals, and enlarged and remodelled, so as to give them a character of absolute novelty. It is quite a readable book.

ALL'S NOT GOLD THAT GLITTERS. Appleton & Co., 1853. A clever little volume full of spicy anecdote, admirably calculated to illustrate its title. It is well written, and is worth reading.

CIVIL LIBERTY AND SELF-GOVERNMENT. By Francis Lieber, LL. D., C. M. French Institute, &c., &c., author of "Political Ethics," "Essays on Labor and Property," "On Criminal Law," &c., &c. Two vols. 12mo. Lippincott, Grambo & Co., Philadelphia.

The name of FRANCIS LIEBER stands out in bold relief among those of the greatest of American authors, and his works occupy the front rank among the standard literary productions of our country. He is original, learned, and profound, grasping his subject with the penetration of intellect, and arriving at his conclusions clearly, forcibly, and logically. Fully understanding his subject, and the exact import of words, he illuminates it with a flood of wisdom, condensed from all the sources of the past, and matured and methodized by all the learning and science of the present.

This, the last of Dr. Lieber's works, is dedicated to those who were his pupils in the State College of South Carolina, where he is now Professor of History and of Political Philosophy and Economy. It is a work of rare merit, and should be read by every citizen, and adopted as a text-book in every academy, college, and university in the Republic.

In the first volume, Dr. Lieber treats of Civil Liberty, Ancient and Modern—Ancient, Mediæval, and Modern States—Anglican Liberty—National Independence—Personal Liberty—Bail—Penal Trial—High Treason—Communion—Locomotion—Emigration—Liberty of Conscience, Property, Supremacy of the Law—the Army—Petition, Association, Taxation—Responsible Ministers—Representative Government, &c., &c.

In the second, he discourses the Effects and Uses of Institutional Self-Government, its advantages, dangers and inconveniences—showing that institutional government is the only one that prevents the growth of too much power. Next he treats of Imperial Sovereignty, examining its origin and character—of Centralization, and the influence of capital cities. Lastly, he discourses with great ability the *Vox populi Vox Dei* doctrine, showing that the *Vox populi* is not always the *Vox Dei*.

Dr. Lieber's extensive historical knowledge enables him to illustrate all his subjects in the most forcible and interesting manner, relieving them of that dryness which few writers have hitherto been able to dispel. His style is simple and lucid, and every page is entertaining.

In the last five chapters of the Appendix to the work, Dr. Lieber discusses the French Constitutions, from that under Louis Philippe to the one adopted by Louis Napoleon.

The whole work seems to be the results of Dr. Lieber's extensive political researches—the condensed political wisdom of past ages.

ART. VIII.—REMARKS ON DR. CARTWRIGHT'S PAPER—"EXTENSION OF THE SUGAR REGION."

IN one of the last numbers of the Review, appeared an article from Dr. Cartwright, "On the Further Extension of the Sugar Region," in which there are many statements that are entirely erroneous. At present, I refer more particularly to his estimate of the relative production of Sugar in Mexico, Cuba and Louisiana. He calculates the first at 2,240 lbs. per acre, the second half as much, or 1,120 lbs. per acre, the third at 3,000 to 4,000 lbs. Every one of these estimates is perfectly erroneous. The average production of Sugar per acre in Mexico, is from 3,000 to 4,000 lbs.—depending principally on the skill evinced in the manufacture—and has, by good management, on the improved principles adopted in Louisiana, been raised to 8,000 lbs. per acre. The system of manufacture usually adopted, is of the rudest and most imperfect kind—pendicular mills, and the rest to match. These facts I have on the authority of many gentlemen from Mexico—both foreign and native, who have been engaged in the manufacture of Sugar. I

have even been told of 11,000 or 12,000 lbs. per acre, but these I have not considered as supported by sufficient proof. As for the production in Cuba, he is equally at fault. There are two kinds of land in Cuba, which are cultivated in Sugar, called the "red lands," and the "black lands." The first of these are relatively poor, and only produce about 1,500 or 2,000 lbs. per arpent; but on the black lands, the production is much greater, as much, on an average, as from 4,000 to 6,000 lbs. per arpent. This, too, I have on high authority, not from travellers running through the country, for a few days, and then imagining they know all about it, but from men who have made a business of the cultivation or the manufacture of Sugar, and who have resided long enough in the country to learn the truth from their own observations. Strange to say, too, his statement of the yield of Sugar in Louisiana is equally wrong. The last season, ('52 and '53) was remarkably favorable for the Sugar planters, yet the average yield, all around, cannot have exceeded 1,000 lbs. per arpent. Ask any Sugar planter if his crop averages, plant and rations, more than 1,000 lbs., and he will say, no. In one statement, however, he is very right: one hand in Louisiana is equal to half a dozen in most other countries, and that, too, where the treatment of the slaves is much more severe. A gentleman, a Sugar planter from Guadaloupe, after riding through a Sugar plantation, told me that he was much struck with the industry of the slaves, even when the overseer was away. Another point in which we are far superior to most Sugar-growing regions, is in the intelligence and skill manifested in both the cultivation and manufacturing of Sugar. There are but few estates, either in Mexico, Cuba, or any of the other West India Islands, which equal, in these respects, the average plantations in Louisiana, even though here there is great room for improvement. This difference is particularly great, in regard to the cultivation of the Sugar Cane; for in most other countries, this is carried on in the rudest manner. The two last points are the only ones in which Louisiana is at all equal to the other Sugar-growing portions of the Americas. When any of these countries come to be annexed, the intelligence and skill now displayed here, will be equally remarkable there, and in a short time the cultivation of Sugar in Louisiana would become extinct. (We differ with the writer here.—EDITOR.) However, the benefits resulting from annexation would more than overbalance the evils which would result from the extinction of the Sugar culture in Louisiana, and it would be well if the Sugar planters would begin to consider what kind of cultivation could be most profitably pursued by them in that case.

P. S. The calculation of Dr. C. in regard to the yield in Mexico, may perhaps refer to those parts of Mexico where the "peloncilla" is made. This peloncilla is made merely by boiling down the cane till it becomes a solid mass, and it can easily be seen what an immense loss must take place. If so, his calculations are nearer the truth—but I refer to the regions about the City of Mexico, in the valleys of Cuatla and Cuemavaca, the real Sugar regions of Mexico.

